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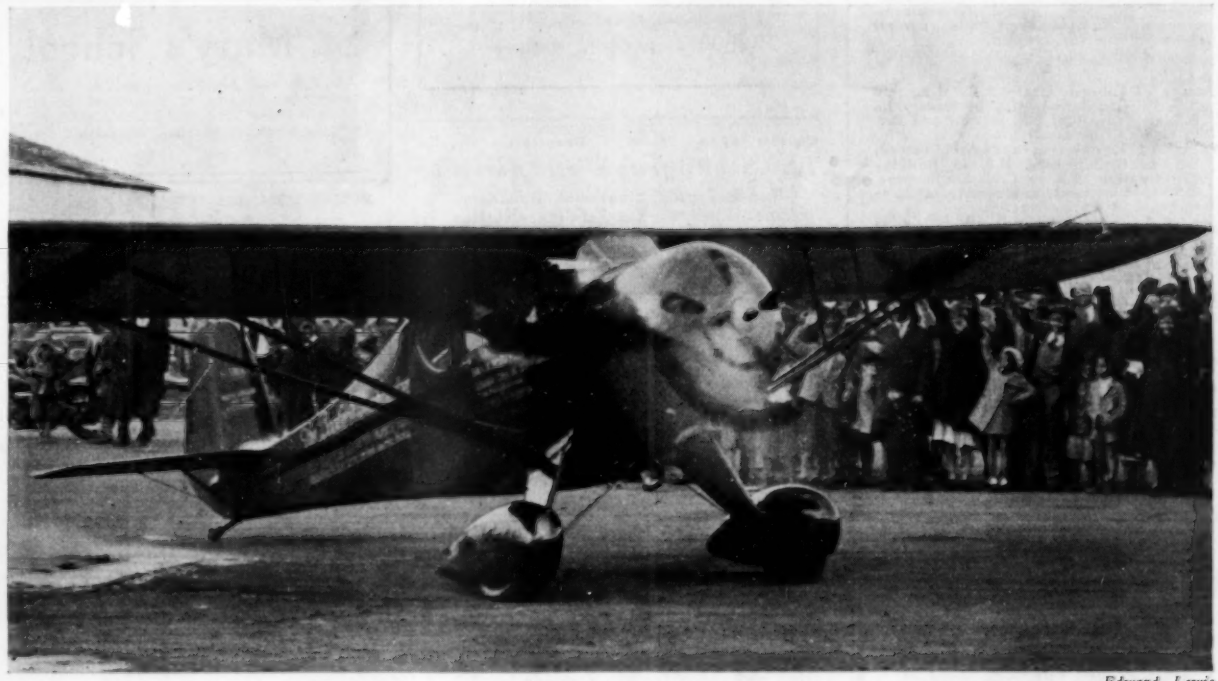

Edward Lewis

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(Twin plane to Lindbergh's—see page 353)

FASCISM AND THE NEGRO

By Harold Preece

PREJUDICE INVADES OBERLIN

By Caroline W. Thomason

THE MAID-WELL GARMENT COMPANY

By John P. Davis

HITLER AND THE NEGROES ON THE RHINE

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Volume 41, No. 12 *Whole No. 286*

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THE CRISIS was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.
The contents of THE CRISIS are copyrighted.

NEXT MONTH

Most of the January issue will be devoted to anti-lynching opinion and factual material. The members of the Writers' League Against Lynching are contributing articles and poems which will make this issue a memorable one. See full page announcement on page 351.

●

In addition there will be an illustrated football article by William I. Gibson, reviewing the season in Negro colleges.

●

There will be, also, a striking bit of verse by Frank Marshall Davis.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Harold Preece is a young Texan living in Austin.

●

John P. Davis is secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery in Washington.

●

Winnifred Wygal lives in New York City.

●

Caroline Wasson Thomason is a writer of feature articles for magazines. She has worked on newspapers and taught school. Her daughter was graduated from Oberlin last summer.

●

William I. (Bill) Gibson is managing editor of the Baltimore *Afro-American*.

THE COVER

Dr. Albert E. Forsythe, Atlantic City, N. J. dentist, and C. Alfred Anderson of Bryn Mawr, Pa., took off from the Atlantic City airport November 8, on a flight to twenty-five countries in the Caribbean and South America. The plane, a Lambert Monocoupe, owned by Dr. Forsythe, is the same make as the one recently ordered by Col. Charles A. Lindbergh.

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Fascism and the Negro

By Harold Preece

A prediction of what will be the lot of the Negro under a "shirt-fraternity" Fascist government is presented by a young white Texas writer

THE NEGRO people, because of their aspirations for a more complete life, are preyed upon by every type of demagogue and charlatan. A nationality suffering continual suppression and discrimination develops an idealism which all too often is diverted into muddy channels. A thousand and one organizations clamor today for the Negro's attention. Some of these groups are good; some are bad, and some are questionable. One, the fascist movement, is poisonous.

Eventually, the fascist leaders will approach influential strata of the Negro population with gilded promises of liberation and equality. The Negro workers will receive assurances of jobs and further economic rights. The more astute fascists will whip up the resentment of the Negroes toward the whites, and the whites toward the Negroes. Proclaiming loudly their adherence to the Christian commandments, these professional wielders of the rope and the faggot practice a creed of oppression and exploitation. As far as the Negro people are concerned, the triumph of fascism means only the intensification of the abuses to which the darker races are already subjected.

Hoodwink White Workers

A major tenet of the fascist philosophy is the inherent superiority of the numerically dominant race. All others are lesser breeds to whom political and economic guaranties do not apply. This ingenious myth is formulated in order to divert the toilers of the numerically dominant race from the gruelling conditions under which they labor. The laborer is compensated for his underpaid drudgery or chronic unemployment by being allowed a feeling of superiority to someone else, and vicariously enters into the luxurious life of the boss. The fascist propagandists amplify this superstitious prejudice until all wrong-doing is associated in the eyes of the benighted with the supposedly inferior race. Thus the German masses were led to believe that harmless Jewish shopkeepers were perverting the noble ideals of the Vaterland. In the resulting orgy of rapine, the real criminals, paunchy Aryan munition-makers and factory owners, stepped in and seized control. Today, their brown-shirted agents exercise authority and the conditions of the masses, Christian and Jewish, are incredibly worse.

If fascism triumphs in this country, the Negro will become the national scapegoat. Germany had no colored race upon which it could unload the sins of the ages, hence the children of Israel were singled out for persecution. The Negro, because of his different color and his different folkways, developed through segregation, will be a more fitting object of fury for the American fascists than the white Jew. The press of the monopolists, for whom fascism is a thinly-veiled disguise, will shriek with lurid tales of the Negro's alleged depravity. Lengthy articles by men of questionable scholarship will proclaim the unalterable doctrine of Aryan supremacy and claim that our troubles started when the first Negro landed here. Old pictures of bush-natives with rings in their noses will be resurrected and printed under such captions as "This Is Who Will Rule America If The Negroes Are Not Crushed." One even suspects that some indefatigable patriot will unearth a gigantic Negro conspiracy to rule the earth. Finally, the professional Negro-haters will be unleashed to rend and kill those unlucky enough to be born with black skins.

A Rule of Thugs

In a volcanic reign of terror, the Negro will find the social gains of years wiped out by a sweeping edict whose provisions are enforced by commissioned thugs. Jim Crow will be an honored passenger on every conveyance in the country. The universities, the libraries, and the museums will be taboo for anyone who cannot prove unmixed white blood back to an infinitesimally remote generation. The schools grudgingly alloted to the Negro population will include in their curricula only the most elementary subjects, and their whole purpose will be to orient the children toward a hopeless position of docile conformity. Distinction of mind, nobility of character, will mean nothing to the fascist chiefs. Only the pigments of one's skin will count, a matter which has no relevancy for the leading scientists of the world.

Economically, the seizure of power by the fascists will be a catastrophe for the Negro people. In a spurious attempt to solve the unemployment problem and to hold the loyalty of the white masses, the fascist leaders will order the wholesale discharge of Negro workers. Every employed Negro from the skilled mechanic to the nurse-girl will feel the pincers. And those few permitted to continue their tasks will be subjected to the most insulting calumnies. A Negro who obtains a job will be told that he should be grateful to get work on any terms, and will be forced to work for whatever beggarly sum his employer is inclined to pay.

Negro professional and business men will find themselves boycotted and their patrons intimidated. The professional element will find itself thwarted and eventually pauperized by vicious restrictive measures. The mercantile class, unable to compete with the enormous capital and buying power of the white monopolists, will eventually be forced into complete bankruptcy.

No Fraternal Institutions

Parallel with the economic collapse of the Negro will arise a collapse of his fraternal and religious institutions. Fascism cannot permit the existence of associations which imbue the oppressed with hope. Any sort of a mass organization is dangerous to the safety of fascism. There is altogether too much danger that secret meetings may be converted into centers of revolt. Mussolini, for instance, has found it necessary to suppress the Free Masons. The non-secret benevolent organizations of the Negroes will be regarded by the brown-shirted rulers as possible forums of protest. Wherever people congregate, there will be heard expressions of discontent. Desperately attempting to curb the ever-growing resentment of the masses, most of the fascist countries have already enacted laws which forbid the assembling of more than five or six persons.

Nor will the religious Negro be allowed to enjoy the consolations of his

(*Continued on page* 366)

NEXT MONTH

A complete anti-lynching number, with famous writers having their say about America's brutal pastime. Fannie Hurst, Gertrude Atherton, James Weldon Johnson, Oswald Garrison Villard, and many more. Out December 21.

The Maid-Well Garment Case

By John P. Davis

Since the beginning of the New Deal, and especially of the NRA codes, the question has been asked often about the displacement of Negro industrial workers. Here is a case study from Arkansas

THE materials presented in this brief study were derived from letters, answers to questionnaires, and personal interviews with persons about whom this study is concerned. Complete information is presented here for only 33 of about 120 families involved, but letters from and personal contact with many of the families for whom complete information is not available indicate that this sample of 33 families is typical.

The purpose of the study is to present in brief form accurate factual material concerning the economic and social conditions of a number of Negro families in Forrest City, Arkansas. These families were chosen because at least one member of the family was formerly employed as a needle worker in the Maid-Well Garment factory at Forrest City.

Problems of displacement of Negro workers as a consequence of industrial codes of fair competition, of the seeming breakdown of NRA compliance machinery, of the slowness and inadequacy of relief machinery in meeting pressing conditions of need, and of the need for some type of social planning to correct a trend of unemployment in a segment of population now industrially stranded are raised in this study. But no attempt has been made to find the answers to problems raised or to relate facts here given to the larger national problems, of which the cases studied may or may not be typical. We seek here simply to focus attention on a particular situation which ought to commend itself to administrative officers of the proper bureaus in our federal government for remedial action.

History of the Case

The Maid-Well Garment Company produces cheap cotton dresses. It has been subject to the code of fair competition for the cotton garment industry since the effective date of that code, November 27, 1933. Under this code it was required to pay its productive labor a minimum of $12 a week for a 40-hour week from the effective date of the code (November 27, 1933) until January 30, 1934—the period under discussion in this study. Under the code also it was allowed to classify 10 per cent of its employees as "learners" and to pay such employees 80 per cent of the code minimum, provided that no such employee could be so classified who had been employed longer than six weeks. The plant operated at the time of the code with a personnel of about 450 persons, of whom more than 200 were Negro women.

The Negro employees had worked at the factory for several years and most of them had service records of over one year. Only a very small percentage had worked at the plant as short a period as six weeks at the time the code for the cotton garment industry took effect. These Negro women were engaged in all of the operations involved in the manufacture of cotton dresses. They occupied the upper floor of the factory segregated from the white women doing the identical work. The quarters for the white workers, factory conditions, and machinery were notably superior to similar facilities for the Negro employees. The women prior to the code did not work on a piece work basis. They were required to make four "stacks" of dresses a week, with 24 dresses to each "stack." For this they received $6.16 a week of which 10 cents was deducted for "doctor's fee." The women were skilled operators. One of them reported that she was placed in "Class A" (the highest rating given by the employer) and that in 11 years' employment at the plant she was never late for work or absent. Of course, she was the exceptional worker. The general run of Negro workers, however, compared favorably with her.

After the effective date of the code the Maid-Well Garment Company continued to pay its Negro employees on the flat rate of $6.16 a week for a 40-hour week or $5.84 below the minimum weekly wage set by the code. The new 40-hour week represented a reduction in hours, but the employees were required to make the same weekly average number of dresses as had been required prior to the reduction in hours. Inasmuch as practically none of these women had been employed less than six weeks prior to the effective date of the code, the company was manifestly violating the labor provisions of the code. The company paid sub-code wages to at least some of its Negro employees for most of the time between the effective date of the code and January 30, 1934, at which later date practically all of the Negro women were dismissed. The exact number of women thus effected is in doubt, since there were frequent "lay-offs" and reemployments of the Negro workers during this period.

Action Taken In The Case:

In January, 1934, one of the Negro women employed at the plant wrote a letter to the Secretary of the United States Department of Labor complaining of the code violation. This letter was referred to the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor and by them referred to the Joint Committee on National Recovery. The complainant was written to and on the basis of further information thus received, the Joint Committee on National Recovery filed a complaint with the proper compliance officer of the National Recovery Administration on January 13, 1934. On January 30, 1934, all of the Negro employees at the plant were dismissed. Statements of the employer as quoted by the dismissed employees indicate that the reason for dismissal was the lodging of the complaint with compliance officials of NRA. The reason given by the employer to NRA investigators was the inefficiency of the Negro workers.*

Attempts to secure restitution of back wages, claimed by the dismissed workers to aggregate several thousands of dollars and admitted by NRA compliance officials, on the basis of only a partial study of payroll records to amount to several hundred dollars, have thus far proved abortive. At first NRA compliance officers claimed that the company had operated under a stay of code provisions and was therefor exempt from them. This was proved groundless and admitted by these officials to be so. Next these same officials claimed they were unable accurately to determine the amount of restitution due the dismissed workers because the owner of the plant "was in Syria visiting his parents." Thus nearly two hundred workers saw the normal processes of the law held in abeyance to await the

* No evidence can be adduced to support this contention for workers at this plant or for Negro workers in the industry. For reasons already noted, a study of comparable efficiency could not be made at the plant because of differences in equipment of Negro and white workers there. Moreover, the only detailed study of comparative efficiency of Negro and white workers in the cotton garment industry shows Negroes equal to whites. See report of Burton E. Oppenheim on Southland Manufacturing Company noted in transcripts of hearing on Southland case before NRA Board of Industrial Appeals October 9, 1934.

return of a code violator from a parental visit to foreign shores. A month ago he returned. Yet now—ten months later—there has been constant malingering on the part of both local and national compliance officials entrusted with the enforcement of the National Industrial Recovery Act. Meanwhile the employees—jobless and without relief—are still waiting final settlement of their claims.

Social Consequences Noted

This factory offered Negro women in Forrest City their only outlet for industrial employment. Even the low weekly wage of a little more than $6.00 represented a higher income than is obtainable for Negro women in any occupation in the city, and a higher income than is obtainable for most Negro men there. It is not surprising, therefore, that when employed, the Negro women who worked at the Maid-Well Garment Factory were the mainstays of their family income. It is obvious, however, that such small weekly wages made accumulation of any substantial savings impossible. Thus loss of employment meant two things: (a) loss to at least 100 families of the major portion of the family income; (b) the creation of a need among these families for immediate relief.

Another factor apparent from the materials available is the absolute lack of job opportunities for the Negro women displaced from industrial employment in this case. Of 41 who answered questions as to present employment as of the last two weeks in September, 1934, only 16 were employed. Seven of these were then employed picking cotton on nearby plantations: work which lasted only a few weeks and which is now ended. The range of pay for these women was from 60 cents to 75 cents per hundred pounds of cotton. At this rate they could earn from $3 to $3.50 a week. One of these women reported a wage of $5.50 a week weighing in cotton as it was picked, but as she stated, she could "only work when the weather was good." Four were employed in domestic service: one as "cook and maid in a beauty shop" receiving $3.50 for 63 hours' work a week; one as "nurse, cook and housecleaner" receiving $3.00 for 60 hours of work a week; one as a cook receiving $2.00 a week; and one as a housecleaner receiving $1.50 a week and working irregularly. Two had work as family laundresses at $1.50 and $1.75 a week. One worked 22 hours a week in a steam laundry at $2.00 a week. One worked 36 hours a week in a cafe at $2.50 a week. And one was employed as janitress of a lodge hall at $4.50 a month. Except in the cases noted, the hours worked by these women exceeded 60 a week. Experience of the writer with many of the workers who did not answer questionnaires, coupled with information given above, is the basis for the statement that probably an even smaller percentage of those not answering questionnaires have found gainful employment of any sort. Thus there exists in Forrest City a large number of Negro women with a needle trades background and training now industrially stranded in an agricultural community in which there are for them no job opportunities.

The plight of the families of these workers is made more apparent when information on their relief problems is surveyed. Despite the small family incomes of most of the families, only six out of 33 families for whom complete information is available, have received any relief. Five other families which had no member of their family employed in any way, reported that they were unable to secure relief. The highest amount of relief given was to a family of six. The head of this family was on work relief at $5.40 a week. This amount was required to serve all the needs of four adults over 20 years old and two infants under 10, in addition to a monthly rental of $4.50. Another family of 2 adult persons received $5.75 monthly, the head of the family being given 27 hours' work a month as a carpenter at 25 cents an hour. (This is probably a violation of work relief regulations in that skilled work is required to be paid for at a higher rate than that indicated.) An unmarried adult woman, living with another family reported that she received weekly food orders valued at $2.50. Another woman, whose mother (70 years old) earned $1.50 weekly stated that she received food orders valued at $3.00 monthly. A family of two adults reported receipt of $7.40 in cash monthly, the head of the family (64 years old) being employed on work relief. Another family of two adults reported having received food orders valued at $6.60 from March 1 to September 21. Nothing else was received from relief and there was no member of the family receiving income from any source during this period. Aside from the instances detailed above, no other relief in any form was given to any of the 33 families.

Turning to those families which had one or more members of the family employed, it is seen that the highest combined income of any family was $21.60 monthly; and the lowest 75 cents weekly. The combined incomes of only eight of the 33 families was in excess of $5.00 a week. The table attached to this study will indicate the occupation and weekly wage of individual wage earners in the families. In most cases the combined weekly incomes in excess of $5.00 a week are occasioned by a larger number of wage earners in the family.

There are 126 persons in the 33 families covered by questionnaires. Of these 80 were female and 46 were male. Age and sex distribution was as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
Under 10 years..	6	12	18
10 to 21 years....	11	17	28
22 to 50 years....	21	46	67
Over 50 years....	8	5	13
All ages.....	46	80	126

Of the 126 persons in these 33 families, 37 were engaged in some form of gainful employment during September; but as has already been noted, at least seven of these (engaged in cotton picking) have since become unemployed. Nine families had no member employed by any private employer.

Housing conditions of these families reveal facts of interest. Of the 33 families, six were buying homes. One single woman lived in a rented apartment of 2 rooms with electricity, bath and lavatory facilities. The family of a preacher lived in a parsonage for which no rent was paid. Three families lived on plantations where houses were furnished by the plantation owner. The other families lived in rented dwellings of from 2 to 6 rooms, paying rentals of from $1.50 to $10.00 monthly. Most of the homes rented at not less than $8.00 monthly. None of the homes (except the apartment) had a bath. Only four of them had electricity. Only seven had inside lavatory facilities. In all instances a low standard of house facilities is to be noted. In several instances there is overcrowding. On the basis of personal inspection of many of these houses, it seems fair to state that rental prices are exorbitant in most cases.

Conclusion

There seems little need for writing a conclusion to such stark facts as these. Forrest City is a town of 4,594 inhabitants of whom 1,967 are Negroes. The principal source of employment for these Negro citizens has been taken from them. They are left stranded in an otherwise agricultural community with little hope of any change of condition. There are no jobs for them in the needle trade—the type of work to which most of them are accustomed. They have almost given up hope of ever receiving restitution of thousands of dollars in back wages justly due them. They know as the result of bitter experience that they need not look to relief agencies to solve either their immediate problems of food and fuel for winter, or their ultimate problem of rehabilitation.

That such facts as these confront hundreds of similar Negro communities in the South there can be no doubt. Nor is there doubt that while such conditions persist, the new administration can lay no claim to bringing about recovery.

Christmas Eve

By Winnifred Wygal

Christmas Eve on the broad South Pacific, with men and women of the East and West celebrating aboard a round-the-world liner. Even there, Color intruded

THE air was as warm as May in Missouri. Porpoises leaped in the moonlight and the Southern Cross stood above the horizon at four in the morning. The days were Italian blue over a sun-drenched sea and sky and ship. There was a dazzling unreality about boldness of outline and shining aquamarine as one stood on the cool morning decks and watched the edge of the world.

The Antonia moved through the untroubled waters of the South China Sea, with the dignity of a pregnant woman, her hulk laden with farm machinery from Chicago; and automobiles billed for Malay Peninsula. Her passengers were a varied melieu. For the most part, they were Americans out on a long holiday to see ancient ruins; to catch the fragrance of old wood; and to appraise the saphron culture of ancient kingdoms. Many of them were being guided at the nominal fee of thirty dollars a day through yellow tiled temples and cryptomeria groves, secure in the thought of rest each night in a westernized hotel or a De Luxe Steamship Line cabin.

There were others on board; Mr. and Mrs. Tam Tart Lun, who boarded the ship at Hong Hong, were a bride and groom from Canton going to Singapore to enter a prosperous business in the Chinese City; Father Darriaga, the Spanish priest from Manila, garbed in white wool, was en route for Spain; fourteen Chinese nationalists, graduates of Harvard, Yale and London University, were traveling to Washington via Paris and Geneva; a Russian violinist who regularly filled Carnegie Hall once or twice a season, had booked concerts in Singapore and Calcutta; an Indian educator from the Bombay Presidency, a man with his doctor's degree from Leeds University, who had been the guest of Teachers College, Columbia University, and other American institutions, was returning from his world survey; a research scholar from a foundation in the States had been doing a study of rural missions in Korea and India; there was a free lance explorer from Michigan, who fortified himself for North Tibet with generous quantities of the best Scotch whiskey.

A few of us were observers. In spite of the fact that we were American tourists, we didn't play bridge all day, nor drink cocktails all night. "Ah!" you cry triumphantly, "the middle class morality of the tourist is as certain a badge of Iowa as are the wet orgies the label of the man from Manhattan." Perhaps it *was* middle class morality. It may have been the law of contrasts since we were not born in Iowa. We thought it was our journals; and the feel of the days and the steadiness of the nights. Who would miss Chinese children at play? or sunset at the equator? or the late ripe rich fruit of Paradise as the moon swung into the sky?

WE were not surprised at the startled expressions on the faces of our fellow countrymen when we sat at table with Mr. Vakil, the Indian educator, but we did gulp with new sensations when Father Darriaga flatly refused to be seated in the dining salon with Mr. and Mrs. Tam Tart Lun. By what trick of orthodoxy had a hundred per cent Spaniard wonted to the Philippines fallen into such delicate tastes regarding a yellow bride and groom? But Father Darriaga's sensitivities were as nothing compared to the mood of the entire shipload over the fourteen Chinese nationalists. "Bah! They are no good. They smile, they read, they dress as we, but they should be thrown overboard. We need 250,000 deaths in China," thus said the French business man from Shanghai. The large and florid newspaper man from London looked unusually surprised when we interrogated him and said, "I've paid no attention to them; after all they are no friends of mine." Said the Long Island tourist over his soup, "Those dirty Chinks? I wouldn't believe a word one of them said on a bet." Meanwhile the fourteen Chinese nationalists traveled westward—reading as they went the lives of Abraham Lincoln; of Lenin; of Mussolini and of Gandhi. No one else on shipboard had time to read nor need. The rest of us knew the answers which these "stupid Chinks" seemed bent on discovering.

There was the inevitable American woman of middle aged, unmarried state, who was traveling in the vain hope of belated adventure. She seemed not to take into account the possibility that the wretched lack of appreciation of the gallant sex which had dogged her days in Oregon was doomed to function for the same reason in the Yellow Sea. Priding herself upon her orthodox Methodism and her prohibition principles, she bemoaned her fate in forthright style by Christmas Eve and wondered if perchance John Wesley and John Barleycorn might have made a better job of her life if they had not assailed each other so consistently through the annals of bourgeois Protestantism.

The lovely looking twenty-four year old girl who had graduated only two years before from one of New England's women's colleges was in a jam. Young, good looking, running away from tragedy already bargained for at home, she seemed desperate. From the bold Standard Oil bearers bound for the United Provinces who paid for her drinks to the fussy old ladies from Chicago who gossiped about her, the ship—all but the Spanish priest — watched agape as she plunged.

ON Christmas Eve we were two degrees from the Equator. Doors and windows stood wide open to the tropics and the sea made a soft swishing sound around our prow as we pushed steadily on through the clear-skyed dark of early evening. The captain's dinner, heralded by parties in the bar, opened the festivities. To the strains of Seattle jazz we descended in evening dress to the bedizened dining room. Dennison's tissue paper never appeared to better advantage. Artichokes from California, Vermont turkey and cranberry sauce, ice cream, molded into stars and crowns in San Francisco; and a Christmas tree laden with peppermint canes—all made the heart to laugh! To be sure it was an American Christmas and Mr. Tam Tart Lun looked a little dazed, but it was such a jolly affair that a man, whether east or west, must be made of stone not to leap to the occasion! A merry lady from Louisville tickled the Spanish priest under his chin and prevailed upon him to don a crimson cap simulating a Roman helmet. The party from Australia had an unusually hearty time and sang lustily whenever the orchestra paused to mop its brow. Twenty ladies and gentlemen from the middlewest did a serpentine and were at length prevailed upon to give McNamara's band, a performance which in its totality obliterated all vestige of distinction between Iowa and Manhattan. Four Harvard men sang and the Captain made a speech. The Captain was a stout Sacramento man who had his favorite among the ladies but whose discretion could not be outdone by older men than he at this matter of sailing a jolly ship in Far Eastern waters.

After dinner, there was music. For everybody, the solemn, the poised, or the

(*Continued on page* 359)

New Congressman

Arthur W. Mitchell

HISTORY will be made January 2, 1935, when Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago takes his seat as United States congressman from the first district of Illinois, for Congressman Mitchell will be the first Negro to be elected to congress on the Democratic ticket. Oscar DePriest, whom he defeated November 6 by some 3,000 votes, was the first colored congressman since George White in 1901. Mr. DePriest, as everyone knows, is a Republican. Chance played its role in Mr. Mitchell's election. Harry W. Baker, white nominee of the Democrats in the first district, died before the campaign got under way. Mr. Mitchell was given his place on the ticket.

Mitchell ran with the New Deal as his platform and received powerful support from the Cook county Democrats and aid from the national administration. One of the highlights of his campaign was the appearance in Chicago of Sylvester Harris, a colored Mississippi farmer, who told how he had secured aid in refinancing his farm mortgage after appealing directly to President Roosevelt by telephone.

The congressman-elect declared he was whole-heartedly behind the New Deal program except that he believed veterans in need should be paid the bonus at once. He is quoted also as saying he does not intend to stress the race issue in congress.

Like Mr. DePriest, the new congressman was born in Alabama. He ran away from the farm at the age of 14 to Tuskegee Institute where he worked part of the time as office boy for Booker T. Washington. Later he got his degree from Talladega college. He came north and attended Harvard and Columbia universities for a time. He has practiced law and been in the real estate business. His son, Arthur Mitchell, Jr., is a graduate of the University of Michigan and his wife is an accountant in a government office in Washington.

Christmas Eve

(*Continued from page* 358)

trivial, the ship's mood changed because the Russian violinist gave himself and his violin to the night. He played, and again and again he played. There were English ballads; carols of the Old World; and the Christmas music of the Medieval Church. Even the most haggard and disillusioned of the little water-bound party stood hungrily on the edge of the group. The melody, for the moment, crowded out the chatter of little talk and many seemed aware of the mystery of human touch and of significance and meaning as he played. Mr. Vakil, a Hindu, in the evening dress of the West; the Spanish priest in all the dignity of his white vestments; the busy-bodies from Chicago, the orthodox spinster from Oregon, the scholars from Canton waited in the presence of that Christmas music. For a few moments, their differences grew more remote within the universal experience which held them silent. There was for some of us one of those rare illuminations which come more readily during great music, revealing what life might be if people had been free to be people instead of nations and races. But such moments cannot be held. The Christmas Eve concert was over.

The revelry was on. Hours slipped by. The bar was busy. Jazz raged. The New England college girl staggered off with one of the men to reappear later and choose another from among the holiday revelers. There was so much "oh-ing" and "ah-ing," so much to gossip about, that little knots of people buzzed, their bridge forgotten and their glasses drained again and again. Thus the desperate in search of life's clue seized the hours to hold them not in the blue distance of a Christmas Eve sky; but in the brittle glare of a Broadway night club 12,000 miles to the west.

A FEW of us sat on the deck on the windward side, watching the stars and feeling the soft darkness of an Oriental night. We were at the far end of the ship, away from the revelers. The faint shouts and hoarse cries which occasionally came scuttling down the decks were softened for us by the sound of the water and the gentle wind in the rigging. It was Mr. Vakil, the Hindu, who broke the silence and as he spoke no one had a mind to answer.

"This," he said, in a questioning, stating tone of voice, "is the birthday of the founder of your religion, is it not? Jesus you call him. We, too, reverence him in my country as a great prophet, and a spiritual man." There was a long pause.

"You of the west celebrate in strange ways your greatest leader. The Spanish priest could not be seated at the table with the young Chinese because their skin is yellow, but he seemed to enjoy dinner with the ladies who tied the paper cap on his head. What is it that he celebrates thus—the birthday of the One he holds highest?"

"There is midnight mass of course"—murmured someone and broke off at the bawl of voices as the din grew louder. Again the pause was long.

The steady rhythm of the waves held a soothing quiet. The wind grew softer as deep night settled over the world. Like points of eternal light a million stars pierced the blackness as they must have done for centuries; as they must have done when myth was born—the myth of wise men and old caravans led by a star to worship a new born child.

Mr. Vakil's voice went on—"We men of India still follow the stars. We still seek beauty and justice and brotherhood. I think your Jesus was more like us. I doubt if he would have understood your celebration. After all, he came out of the East. . . . But you of the west,—one wonders how it is with you? No one spoke. There was nothing to say. But some of us waited for the Southern Cross.

A RABBI

preaches against a lynching in his town in the South and gets some surprising reactions from his own synagogue. Read the story by Annie Nathan Meyer in the January CRISIS, out December 21.

Gets Ph.D. in Agriculture

John M. Coruthers, director of the division of agriculture and professor of agricultural economics at Arkansas State College at Pine Bluff, was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy in agriculture September 26 by Cornell university. Dr. Coruthers made a study of given cotton-growing communities, the title of his dissertation being "One-Variety Cotton Communities." He is a native of Austin, Tex. He secured his bachelor of science degree in Agriculture from Hampton Institute in 1925 and his master's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1928. He taught at Southern university, Baton Rouge, La., before coming to Arkansas.

Will Prejudice Capture Oberlin?

By Caroline Wasson Thomason

LAST Memorial Day in Westwood Cemetery, Oberlin, Ohio, that important Underground Railroad station of pre-Civil War days, I placed modest spray of white flowers at four tombs, honoring "Emperor" Shields Green, John Anthony Copeland, Lewis Sheridan Leary, and Simeon Bushnell. These Oberlin citizens, representatives of the Negro and the Anglo Saxon races, were alike baptized with the fine idealism in which Oberlin College and Colony were established. After a hundred years of noteworthy toleration, is Oberlin in danger of forfeiting her leadership in the struggle for the abolition of racial discrimination?

On an unpretentious cenotaph of clouded marble erected in Oberlin's cemetery in the sixties appear these words:

S. Green
Died at Charleston, Va., Dec. 2, 1859
Aged 23 years.
J. A. Copeland
Died at Charleston, Va., Dec. 2, 1859
Aged 25 years.
L. S. Leary
Died at Harper's Ferry, Va., Oct. 20, 1859
Aged 24 years.
These colored citizens of Oberlin,
The heroic associates of the immortal John Brown,
Gave their lives for the Slave.
Et nunc servitudo etiam mortua est, Laus Deo.

"Youth of Color" were admitted to the "Oberlin Collegiate Institute" soon after it was founded, 1833. Colonists, faculty, students were inspired with a burning desire for social and racial justice. In the quarter-century preceding the Civil War as many as 350 runaway slaves a year were received at Tappan Square, usually under the Historic Elm at twilight, and at the proper time spirited from Oberlin thirteen miles north to Lake Erie. Certain farseeing captains consistently failed to see the dusky fugitives when they slipped aboard, and when they went ashore on Canadian soil to breathe the air of freedom.

At the time John Brown was surrounded, Lewis Leary and John Copeland of Oberlin were taken, but Shields Green with a companion was in the mountains on an errand. Finding that to rescue their commander would be impossible, the companion counseled flight, and did himself get away. But "Emperor" Green, who had escaped from

Oberlin, O., of glorious Underground Railroad history, seems to be weakening after 100 years, and yielding to the intolerance which the city's stalwarts a century ago fought with an unparalleled passion

slavery into Oberlin, said that he preferred to "go down and die with the old man," and he did! There is scarcely an incident more touching in all our national history. (Copeland and Green were hanged December 16, not December 2, as stated on the Westwood cenotaph.)

Oberlin-Wellington Case

Simeon Bushnell (white), and Charles Langston (grandfather, by the way, of Langston Hughes) were leading actors in the famous Oberlin-Wellington rescue case which has been classed with such components as the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the Dred Scott Decision, and the act of John Brown at Harper's Ferry in hastening the outbreak of the Civil War. A brief summation follows:

John Price, a boy of about eighteen, escaped from a Kentucky plantation, and reached Oberlin in 1856. He felt secure in this community which boasted that no refugee, having once reached its borders, had ever been returned to bondage. But on September 13, 1858, while on his way to a farm where he had been promised a potato digging job, he was seized by three slave-catchers and taken nine miles south to Wellington where the men expected to make connections with the evening train.

Someone along the road recognized John and spread the alarm in Oberlin. Afoot, on horseback, in vehicles the Oberlinites headed toward Wellington where the slave-catchers had taken rooms in the Wadsworth House, located on the site now occupied by the Myron Herrick Memorial Library. The throng about the hotel increased to over a thousand determined, orderly persons. The south-bound train came and went. Oberlin spokesmen conferred with the badly frightened Kentuckians who were insistent in their statement that they possessed legal right to return John to his owner. They went as far as to declare that the boy wished to go back, and they compelled him to appear on the hotel balcony, and dictated what he was to say to the crowd. John stood for an instant with trembling lips, and suddenly cried out:

"I want to go back—b'kaze—b'kaze—I s'pose I must!"

He was jerked back into the building. The crowd surged closer. Then Charles Langston put an end to the Wadsworth episode by placing a long ladder at the window of the attic into which the fugitive had been thrust, and by helping the latter outside. John was passed from hand to hand over the heads of the crowd, and placed in a buggy drawn by the swiftest horses in Oberlin, and driven by Simeon Bushnell. Langston and Bushnell concealed him in the attic of the house of Professor James H. Fairchild, afterwards the president of Oberlin College. A few days later John Price was sent into Canada, and so disappears from history.

Thirty-seven indictments for violation of the hated Fugitive Slave Law were returned against residents of Lorain county, including professors, lawyers, and business men. A "feast of felons" was given in their honor, at which the subjects of some of the toasts were, "The inalienable rights of man," "Loyalty to God, and loyalty to human government when it is loyal to God." Finally in early April, amid the acclamations of the Colonists, the indicted boarded the little "plug" train out of Oberlin, and presented themselves in Cleveland for trial.

Jail Is Picketed

While in the Cleveland jail they issued a bi-monthly paper called the "Rescuer" which was widely circulated. The affair commanded the attention of the entire country. Large crowds assembled about the jail. Parades and various demonstrations were staged in behalf of the cause for which the Lorain people were fighting. On one occasion over four hundred Oberlin Sunday school children whose superintendent was among the "felons" went to Cleveland as the guests of a Cleveland church. After listening to a talk by their superintendent, they paraded the streets, with songs and banners.

Two of the band, Charles Langston and Simeon Bushnell, were formally tried and found guilty. Before receiving his sentence Charles Langston was asked to express his views of the case. With impassioned feeling the colored orator spoke for his race. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the words were spoken, and respoken, and their echo is destined to live on.

Langston and Bushnell served regular terms in prison, and paid the stipulated fines. After eighty-four days in jail the remaining "criminals" were released by a somewhat surprising turn of events. The men who had captured John Price were arrested under the charge of kidnapping. The United States District Attorney nolled the indictments against the Oberlin people, on condition that the indictments against the Kentucky kidnappers also be nolled. This agreement was consummated by Lorain County authorities, for the Oberlin prisoners refused to be parties to the compromise.

One hundred guns were fired as the rescuers emerged from the Cleveland jail. They were escorted by a band to the depot where an address was delivered by Judge Brayton of Newburgh. They were met by a band when they reached Oberlin, and conducted in triumph to the First Church. James Monroe, an Oberlin College professor who became influential in the political field, gave the official welcome.

"Friends of liberty who made no compromise with slavery," he said, "erect as God made you, you went into prison; erect as God made you, you have come out of prison. Welcome! Thrice welcome, fathers of liberty!"

Until long after midnight the celebration continued. Each rescuer was required to speak, and was presented with a memento. The choir of one hundred and fifty trained voices led the great audience in singing hymns of rejoicing. A few days later Simeon Bushnell, the leading "criminal," whose term had been longer than Charles Langston's, returned to Oberlin and the welcome was repeated.

"And thus ended that which had been for months the newspaper sensation of the time," wrote a later historian. "It had moral bearings, and created a wave of public sentiment that rolled over the country in ever widening circles, and at last found its full fruition in the triumph of higher law."

Is Oberlin Retreating?

Will Oberlin lose her leadership, or will she continue to stand for unfettered progress of all races?

Last spring, in violation of an Ohio statute, the owner of an Oberlin bowling alley ordered three colored citizens out of his place of amusement—a mail carrier, a grocery employee, and a college athlete. The young men withdrew in quiet dignity. Some days later William Herbert King of New York, pastor of a Detroit church, and a student in the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, entered this same bowling place on the window of which were the words, "Catering to Ladies and Gentlemen." Mr. King was unceremoniously requested to leave. With the aid of white students, members of the Oberlin College Radical Club, who had been witnesses to the affront, Mr. King took his case to court. After weeks of delay and much expression of opposing views as to the merits of the situation, the Grand Jury of Lorain County refused to return an indictment against the proprietor of the bowling alley.

At an Oberlin meeting of students and townsmen, over which the thoughtful young president of the Radical Club presided, various cases of discrimination against colored residents, comprising about a fifth of the population, were cited. For instance, it was stated that a colored person was not permitted to enter certain barber shops until after the regular closing hours when white patrons had ceased to come. It was shown that Oberlin was headed toward segregation. For instance, a brilliant colored minister experienced considerable difficulty in renting a house for his family, because the streets that virtually have become inhabited by Negroes were filled, and the real estate agent meticulously steered the prospective tenant away from empty houses in other sections.

"I had hoped to take part in dramatics in Oberlin," said a beautiful young woman from a Rocky Mountain state. "I had always heard that at Oberlin College a student was accepted for worth, and that color was disregarded. I found that only the parts of a maid or butler were open to us, and at that we were not wanted in the dramatic organizations. It was a bitter disillusionment."

The education committee of the Oberlin N.A.A.C.P., made up of six colored and two white members, filed a petition last spring with the local school board requesting that the playground of the Pleasant Street School be available for supervised play during the vacation months. It was stated that the N.A.A.C.P. would be responsible for financing the undertaking. Little if any attention was given the petition, according to report. It was understood to have been pigeonholed by a certain board member, recently elected, who had made himself unpopular with a great many colored people by contributing to the local newspaper an article suggesting that the streets be kept clear of colored idlers. He referred to these people as "the blackbird derby." The Pleasant Street grounds are not being used for supervised play this summer.

Presumably people of all races are welcome in any public inn in the village, but recently Harry Thomas, president of the Oberlin N.A.A.C.P., was told that he and Mrs. Thomas could not dine in the front dining room of a Greek restaurant, but would be served in the kitchen. The mayor of the village is said to have set the manager of the restaurant right in regard to the matter.

Students Fight Jim Crow

Annoying incidents of the nature of those given are occurring with unpleasant frequency in Oberlin. Many colored people are from families that have lived in Oberlin for scores of years. They feel pride in and patriotism for traditions that they and their forebears have helped to mold. Such citizens are earnestly attempting to assist the new element from the South to adjust themselves to the conditions of the North.

The majority of the students, it is to be feared, display a regrettable unawareness of the significance of their college background. Hopeful exceptions are found among serious young people like those who are members of the Radical Club. This organization has taken an aggressive stand against discrimination toward their fellow classmates. Last winter when the college faculty deemed it expedient to suppress the "Progress," a mimeographed sheet issued by the Radical Club, the members of the Club continued to express their ideas in a paper called the "Vanguard," which was edited and run off by a colored resident in no way connected with the College. Such groups, colored and white, standing side by side as in the past, may retain for Oberlin her record of achievement.

So I stood silent at the tombs of "Emperor" Shields Green who preferred to "go down and die with the old man," and of Simeon Bushnell who lay in prison for breaking the Fugitive Slave Law. On the weathered cenotaph was the expression of a great hope: *"Et nunc servitudo etiam mortua est, laus Deo:"* Slavery is dead, praise God!

DUBOSE HEYWARD

The famous author of "Porgy," a southerner who still lives in the South, has something to say about lynching in the January CRISIS.

Orders Equal School Relief

State administrators of FERA school funds have been ordered by Aubrey Williams, assistant federal administrator, to distribute employment paid out of FERA funds to Negroes in proportion to their needs, with complete equity among groups. The memorandum to state officials points out that unemployment among Negroes is greater than among other groups and that equity demands that educational relief to Negroes be at least at the level of their percentage of the population of each state.

The FERA educational committee also announces that it will spend $377,145 this year to keep 3,080 colored students in Negro universities.

THEY VOTED FOR JUDGE PARKER

"Of all their titles, the best is '*Ex*-Senator'!"

(Apologies to Heywood Broun)

The Old Football Rulers Pass

By William I. (Bill) Gibson

Football in Negro colleges is becoming more scientific and with this change, new school names are being emblazoned among the gridiron great. This is the first of two articles by Mr. Gibson

THE football music of 1934 may be the same as that of last season, but, upon close inspection, one finds that the words have been altered considerably.

Time was when the gridiron ditties sounded the praises of the perennial leaders: Tuskegee, Wilberforce, Wiley, Morgan, Hampton, Lincoln and Howard, but as this season approaches its close it is the names of Kentucky State, Bluefield, Prairie View and Morris Brown which resound upon the afternoon breezes as the football fans—those loyal alumni and those adopted sons—hail the leaders in King Football's New Deal.

Not in recent years has there been so pronounced an improvement in the general calibre of the game the country over. Last year the claims of Morgan, Wilberforce and Morris Brown—all undefeated elevens—were given the greatest consideration in the search to find a national champion. As this is written, two of these—Morgan and Morris Brown—are undefeated but have scoreless ties on their respective records.

Morgan minus its human thunderbolt, Thomas (Tank) Conrad, and without the services of its All-American, Jim Williams (tackle), Brutus Wilson, Skippy Gibson, et al., was held to a scoreless tie this year by a Bluefield eleven which it overwhelmed last year 60-0. The Howard Bisons, beaten 27-0 last year by the Morgan Bears, this year, with Coach Charlie West at the helm, held the Baltimoreans to a 0-0 stalemate.

Wilberforce was blanked, 15-0 by a Kean-coached Kentucky State outfit which has been hammering at the throne room of national football success for the past three seasons and which, this year, appears destined to gain entrance. This same Kentucky team eked out a 6-2 victory over Cleve Abbot's famous Tuskegee Tigers, the same team which bowed to Wilberforce at Chicago, 13-0.

Wiley, Wildcat of Southwestern gridirons, lost a 13-12 verdict to Sam Taylor's Prairie View Panthers, whom they defeated last year, 6-0, and was held to a 7-7 tie by the Texas College Steers of Coach A. W. Mumford.

Among the smaller schools, Benedict and S. C. State, both in South Carolina, and Southern University, in Louisiana, have attracted attention, while the once powerful Alabama State Hornets, minus the counsel of their veteran mentor, Gaston (Country) Lewis, now at Wilberforce, took the short end of a 12-0 score in an early season upset, and later bowed, 7-6 to the Florida A. and M. Rattlers.

And so it goes, the path to fame on the white-ribbed greensward is strewn with upsets, as teams, once considered set-ups, throw the predictions of dopesters into reverse English.

More Scientific

Reasons for this change in football fortunes are not hard to find. Primarily, it can be said that in many instances, there has been a change of heart on the part of college and university administrators who have placed their stamp of approval upon intercollegiate athletics rather than the customary stamp of indifference or disapproval. Viewing competitive sports as an inherent and permanent part of the educational scheme, these administrators have taken to giving their athletic departments a kindly pat on the back instead of a blow below the belt.

What has this meant? First, it has meant that heads of athletic departments and their assistants, by virtue of increased morale, and in some instances increased financial support, have taken more seriously to such scientific study of the game of football as is necessary to produce good teams. They have attended coaching schools in larger numbers in addition to applying themselves to self-help study.

The first annual school for coaches, sponsored last fall by Hampton Institute, at the insistence of Charles H. Williams, director of physical education there, had a very definite influence for good in stimulating the men to whom the athletic destinies of their respective institutions are entrusted.

Coach Andy Kerr of Colgate, who lectured at the Hampton school, expressed surprise at finding so many colored coaches who not only were interested in learning more about football, but who had already such a vast amount of information and experience regarding the teaching of the game. Colored coaches, he found, were not necessarily infants in the fine points of football.

Secondly, as the coaches have successfully imparted the knowledge which they have gained, their teams have improved, and as a result, these newcomers into the grid spotlight have attracted to their institutions a higher type and a better prepared high school graduate. These prep stars once matriculated mainly at three or four of the larger schools, but now they may be found in the ranks of almost any school.

Many Individual Stars

Thus, the cycle is formed. Encouraged coaches study harder, produce better results, attract better player prospects. One has but to examine the records of ten years ago of such teams as Kentucky State, Morgan and others to see what is meant.

Close races in all of the major conferences are now swinging into the home stretch. The golden prize to the victor hangs high. Scenes shift so rapidly that the hero of today is often the goat of tomorrow.

Among the players who have quaffed deeply from the publicity fountain to date are:

Troupe, quarterback, and Crawford, end, of Morgan; Adams, Wiley halfback; R. Perkins and Houston, Virginia State halfbacks; Deedom, Alston, North Carolina State center and captain; Junius and Jenkins, backs, and Ike Robinson and D. Raines, Wilberforce ends; Colburn, back, and Jenkins, tackle of Virginia Union; Edwards, fullback, and Reed, end, of Kentucky State; Perkins, halfback, and Gaither, tackle, of Howard; Houseworth, end, Morris Brown; Hopson and Dismond, backs, Hampton; and Copening, halfback, and Thomas, end, of A. and T. College.

Football is king for a day. Long live the king!

CARTOONS

Anti-lynching cartoons by Reginald Marsh (courtesy The *New Yorker*), Jay Jackson (courtesy the Chicago *Defender*), Jerry Doyle (courtesy the New York *Post*), and Romare Bearden will appear in the January CRISIS. Order your copy now.

New Magazine

The *Metropolitan*, a literary review, is scheduled to make its appearance in December. It will be published in New York with B. Meeks Riley and Marian Meeks as editors; O. Wendall Shaw as business manager; and Malcolm Dodson as art editor.

Editorials

Christmas, 1934

BEFORE the birth of Jesus Christ, the prophet Isaiah, contemplating the plight of Judah, set down in the ninth chapter of his writings, in the well known sixth and seventh verses the prophecy:

"For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given:

Unto whom, Isaiah? Unto us black folk?

"—and the government shall be upon his shoulder:

The government of the United States of America, Isaiah? Of greedy, sadistic, lynch-mad America?

"—and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor,

Counsellor to Adolf Hitler, Jan Smuts, the Rev. Dr. Henry Darlington, Governor David Sholtz, Attorney General Homer S. Cummings?

"—the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

Peace, Isaiah? Peace and Profits?

"Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever."

From the increase of this government, from the spread of this present peace, deliver us! From the ordering and establishing with judgment and justice—the judgment of mobs and the justice of rope, faggot, knife and gun—rescue us! Where is this babe, Isaiah? When will this Son be born?

The Battle of Scottsboro

THERE is a battle of affidavits, claims, counter claims, telegrams and statements in progress at present between the International Labor Defense and the newly organized American Scottsboro Committee on the question of who has authority to defend the prisoners. As one commentator has put it, the only certain matter about the case now is that Alabama has the boys.

The N.A.A.C.P. asserted from the beginning that any defender of these youths would have to decide first whether the lives and freedom of the defendants were of first concern, or the fabric of government and sociology in Alabama and surrounding southern states. The association took the position that the welfare of the defendants should come first, since no one case can hope to overturn a governmental system, or root out the deep-seated prejudices in a great population.

A frontal attack on Alabama and the whole southern system, with trumpets blowing, banners flaunting, and short swords gleaming bravely against the baleful glare of the Dragon Prejudice makes a fine spectacle, but in the encounter it was inevitable that the lives of the Scottsboro youths became of secondary importance in the minds of Alabamians. It is possible, too, that there were many moments when these lives were secondary in the minds of the plumed knights pushing forward under intoxicating, slogan-emblazoned battle flags.

Of course the treatment of the Scottsboro defendants is part and parcel of the system of the South, of its black-and-white philosophy. Of course these cases are a part of an economic pattern. Of course the whole thing has been dramatized from Moscow to Manchukuo, but will this dramatization change Alabama? Not this year. Will it save the Scottsboro defendants? Many can guess, but who can say? Certain it is that the nine youths themselves are only incidentally concerned with the social fabric. They want first of all to be free of the Birmingham city jail and the death cells in Kilby prison. This race problem was old a thousand years before they were born and it will be here a thousand years after they shall have gone. We can hope only for gradual amelioration of race hatred — inching progress by the century—even with all the gallant sorties and cunning flank movements we can muster.

Who dares declare these lads who want freedom, not martyrdom, ought to be the spearhead of a movement for the overthrow of a system of government? Who arises to say Negroes will never be free until they learn to die for their freedom? Did Heywood Patterson and Clarence Norris and the rest petition to die for freedom? Did they offer to take their places beside Sacco and Vanzetti? Let some of the breast-beaters and arm-wavers and fist-shakers, who profess to know the significance of the class struggle, hie them to Alabama and become the guinea pigs in the experiment of overthrowing the Alabama ruling class.

Air Pioneers

COLORED Americans are following with pride and fervent wishes for good luck the Pan-American goodwill airplane flight of Dr. Albert E. Forsythe and C. Alfred Anderson, who took off from Atlantic City, N. J., November 8. The aviators left the United States at Miami, Fla., and from there hopped off to twenty-five countries in the Caribbean and South America. Haiti, Cuba, Jamaica, the Virgin Islands, the Guianas, French West Indies, Panama, Mexico and Brazil are among the countries which will be visited.

Mr. Anderson is a licensed transport pilot and Dr. Forsythe also holds a license. Last year they completed successfully a transcontinental flight from New Jersey to California. This year, with a new plane purchased by Dr. Forsythe and named the Booker T. Washington, they are making history for the Negro race. They are adding to the piled up evidence that skill, courage and daring cannot be measured by skin color.

Finish of the Parker Fight

THE results of the November election marked the end of the fight on the senators who voted in May, 1930, for the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker to the United States supreme court. All the senators who voted for Parker and who could be reached by the colored voters have been defeated. Of course, the colored voters alone could not have accomplished this feat, but they added their strength to others who voted against the senators. The list of those actually defeated in battle (exclusive of those who died or withdrew) is an impressive one: Shortridge of California; Allen of Kansas; Patterson of Missouri; Watson of Indiana; Fess and McCulloch of Ohio; Reed of Pennsylvania; Hatfield of West Virginia; Kean and Baird of New Jersey; Walcott of Connecticut; and Hebert of Rhode Island. Hastings of Delaware and one or two senators from far north New England states escaped.

The Negro voters of the country are to be congratulated upon their long memories and their steadfastness in the face of pleas from the Old Guard Negro politicians and the smooth promises and scoffing from the candidates themselves. The Parker-fight marked the most sensational and significant political movement by Negroes in the last generation. Any candidate or office holder who, hereafter, may be tempted to be contemptuous of the wishes and welfare of the Negro, might consult with profit any of the gentlemen named above.

Editorials

"Not Interested"

HOMER S. CUMMINGS, who wears the imposing title of Attorney General of the United States, is not interested in lynching. He announced as much last February on the eve of the Senate hearings on the proposed federal anti-lynching bill. He has refused thus far to place lynching on the program of the national crime conference to be held December 10 in Washington. Following the interstate kidnapping, lynching and mutilation of Claude Neal, October 26, at Marianna, Fla., he declared judicially that the federal interstate kidnapping law did not apply. He has remained obdurate in the face of pleas, protests, demands and legal citations from northerners and southerners.

THE CRISIS suggests that the country not give up hope of arousing the lanky attorney general to an interest in lynching. There may yet appear some bad, anti-social, "dangerous" Negro "insurrectionists" who will be behind, instead of in front of guns (perhaps the forbidden machine guns). You can wager governors will not think it "futile" to call out militia then—and the agents of Mr. Cummings will be descending from everywhere by plane. The chances are Mr. Cummings is not interested so much in abstract justice as he is in whose ox is gored. Give him—and Negroes—a little time, and perhaps another Marianna.

Robert R. Moton

FORMAL announcement of the retirement next year of Dr. Robert Russa Moton as principal of Tuskegee Institute serves to focus attention on the work he has accomplished as the successor to Booker T. Washington. Dr. Moton has followed well in the footsteps of Washington. He has aided the growth of the unique institution in his care by increasing the endowment by six millions of dollars. Much as did Washington, he has spread the story of Tuskegee to the ends of the earth.

It was but natural that a man directing the largest educational plant among Negroes should have thrust upon him, in addition to his school duties, tasks of race leadership. It would have been natural, also, for Dr. Moton to succumb to the temptation to lead the twelve millions of his fellow colored Americans. There is that hankering for leadership in all of us. Nine out of ten, given Dr. Moton's advantageous position, would also have accepted the mantle of leader.

If anything has become clearer as this American race problem runs endlessly on, it is that no one man or no one school of thought can claim to "lead" millions of people scattered over all the nation, united loosely by the badge of color. Dr. Moton, a man of sagacity in many matters and of sincerity in all his endeavors, came more and more to realize this. Some day, in intimate and frank memoirs, he may tell of his predicaments when conservative Americans, determined to handle the Negro problem "safely," sought him as the spearhead for their actions. Moton must have fretted in some of these moments, for the man spoke too plainly in "What the Negro Thinks." He has been the confidante of Presidents and was the especial friend of the Hoover administration, yet when the plump Californian telephoned from the White House to Tuskegee's campus in the spring of 1930 to get Moton to endorse John J. Parker for the supreme court, Moton turned a deaf ear.

In the public fancy—leaning ever to dramatic and, if possible, sensational conflict—and among historians of the race problem, the so-called DuBois school and the N.A.A.C.P. have been pictured in battle array always against the Washington-Tuskegee idea. Since the first flush days when the issues were being stated in his flaming prose, DuBois has chosen to allow the public to carry on the "fight." Under Dr. Moton, the two schools of thought have dropped battle axes and, while differing some on philosophy and often sharply on specific matters, have realized the necessity for co-operation on all matters where there can be co-operation. In 1932, Dr. Moton received the Spingarn medal and his speech of acceptance contained many passages which might have come from the writings of the late William Monroe Trotter. If his utterances on other occasions and his choice of language have seemed unhappy, it must be remembered that no man is equal to the task of interpreting the aspirations of *all* American Negroes.

It is upon his work at Tuskegee that Dr. Moton must look back with particular and justifiable satisfaction. As a leader in the type of education which Tuskegee has made world-famous he has had few equals and no superiors. He richly deserves the peace of retirement from active faculty duties to devote himself to writing and advisory work as a member of the board of trustees.

Chocolate Bars Build a School

EXTENSIVE review of the Hershey Industrial School for orphans at Hershey, Pa., is given in the educational section of The New York *Times* for November 4. It seems that this institution, founded by Milton S. Hershey, multi-millionaire chocolate bar manufacturer, now 77 years of age, is shortly to dedicate "a modern school plant of thirteen connected buildings, large enough to prepare 1,500 boys for college or the trades." Mr. Hershey has endowed his pet enterprise, begun in 1909, with the not inconsiderable sum of 65 millions of dollars. After being admitted, boys are cared for and educated without charge until they are 18 years of age, when they are sent out into the world with a job and $100 in cash.

Among the other qualifications which a lad must show to enter the Hershey Elysian fields is whiteness. The manufacturer has put chocolate in his candy bars, but in his regulations for the school he has put the words: "for poor *white* boys who have lost one or both parents by death."

Buy Your Own Christmas Seals

THE Christmas season with its appeals to aid great causes is upon us once more. THE CRISIS urges its readers to buy the usual seals to aid the fight on tuberculosis. It urges them, also, to contribute something to the fight against cancer.

But we especially urge our readers to purchase N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals. The money from this annual sale goes into the general fund of the Association to help carry on the constant fight to wipe out the color line. The seal this year has been designed by a young Negro artist, Richmond Barthé, and is as attractive as any distributed by any organization. No Christmas package or greeting of readers of THE CRISIS will be complete without some of these seals. Help the other great causes, but don't forget your own. Buy N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals.

Fascism

(*Continued from page* 355)

faith in the time of stress. Drastic steps have been taken in Germany to nationalize the churches and absorb them into an unholy cult whose gods are the ferocious old deities of the early Teutonic tribes. The moral tone of this "faith" may be estimated by the character of Loki, one of its chief deities. Loki is a bibulous liar and the prince of liars. Thousands of German ministers, refusing to acknowledge these monsters out of a childish fable by swearing allegiance to Hitler, have been driven from their pulpits. Fascism is a heathen recurrence raising its pretensions above all the ethical criteria by which modern man governs his life. On its unhallowed altars are sacrificed the poet, the thinker, the saint, and all those who do not belong to "the favored race."

The Negro press will be gagged, along with the labor and liberal journals. Nothing so dangerous as the possibility of criticism can be tolerated by banditti who have usurped the powers of state. This does not mean, of course, that the fascist regime may not permit the circulation of papers published by the renegade element which is found in every group. Some spineless Jews in Germany are issuing a journal extolling the merits of Hitler, but no Jew with any decency will read it.

Negroes who lift up their voices in protest will be herded off to filthy prisons and concentration camps, there to be killed outright or slowly tortured to death. Negro boys will be conscripted to fight in the fascist wars which will become more frequent as the world markets dwindle and fail to satisfy the voracious appetites of the money-masters. Negro women will be increasingly driven into concubinage and prostitution. And a race which justifiably looked to the future will find itself helplessly enmeshed in the coils of a perpetual present.

Suppression for Artists

The soaring verse of Langston Hughes, a brilliant critic of the American scene will be burned to cinders. Word comes at this very moment that Mr. Hughes has been driven from Carmel, California, by a group of fascist ruffians. The very name of Coleridge-Taylor will be stricken from the musical programs. It is not the destiny of an enslaved people to be recognized for their creative genius, but only for their ability in drawing water and hewing wood. Lest anyone think that I exaggerate the cultural deterioration which afflicts a whole fascist nation, I would remind them of the disgraceful episode in which Hitler's cohorts burned thousands of priceless books and treatises on the specious plea that they were "Jewish" or "Marxist." Even the Bible is being "purged of Jewish taints," although one is inquisitive as to just what portion of it is not Jewish. If such a hostile one-sided atmosphere were to pervade America, what chance would Negro culture have of survival against such pseudo-Aryan fanaticism?

Some readers may conclude that I have drawn too close an analogy between actual conditions in Germany and possible conditions in America. The events in Germany are more familiar to us because our ties with Germany are more intimate than with those of any other fascist or semi-fascist nation. But in Italy, Austria and Bulgaria we are confronted with practically identical happenings in the face of an exactly identical situation. On what ground can we hope for a minimum of oppression in this country if the American members of the shirt-fraternity obtain power to regulate our lives? Italy has a fairly homogenous population, hence has experienced no wholesale massacres of non-Italian peoples. However, Italian Somaliland is being converted into an African Mississippi. Under the direction of Mussolini's territorial officials, vast cotton plantations are being projected. Indentured Negroes will plant and pick the white bolls, as they do in this country, while white planters will collect and gamble the proceeds.

The New Klan

Over one hundred or so fascist groups, including the resuscitated Ku Klux Klan, are active in this country. While minor differences exist in the various platforms, all demand the total abolition of democratic forms, the muzzling of labor organizations, and the deification of the mythical pure Aryan. Each has an unscrupulous management, and each is probably financed by one or more corporate interests. The passage of time finds them becoming bolder and less patient with democratic procedure.

The Ku Klux Klan, significantly enough has dropped its opposition to the Catholics and the Jews and is centering its attack upon the Negro. A notorious contemporary, the White Legion, of Birmingham, is playing the same game in Alabama. It is in Georgia, the Klan pivot, and in Alabama that Negro sharecroppers and workers are demanding a larger share of what they produce. William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts and high priest of American fascism, declares that every spiritually developed Aryan has a "Radio Eye" which is able to foresee the future. One surmises that this marvelous organ became impeded with static before impatient creditors brought suits against Mr. Pelley.

Fascism cannot succeed unless we allow the "Radio Eye" to hypnotize us. To admit the inevitability of such a stultifying barbarism is for civilization itself to commit suicide. Surely, if we have had the energy to build this civilization, we have the energy to defend it against these ravaging termites and to continue it further under more humane principles and more equitable direction. The status quo must be changed, but toward progression rather than retrogression.

Fascism can be defeated by an alliance of labor and liberal groups with racial minorities. In this tempestuous hour when every muscle must be strained for the attainment of genuine liberty and equality, there can be no temporizing on the part of any group affected by this ghoulish threat. The American Negro, by uniting his strength with the members of the white race who are opposing fascism, will not only preserve the advantages he has already secured. He will find allies who will make his struggle for increased privileges their struggle. Capitulation to fascism means racial downfall! Resistance to fascism means racial advancement!

Runs Good Race

James L. Allen

Eunice Hunton Carter

Mrs. Carter ran a good race and on November 6 finished only 1,600 votes behind her veteran colored Democratic opponent, James E. Stephens, for the office of New York state assemblyman from the nineteenth district. Mrs. Carter, member of an old, well-known family, was graduated from Smith college where she received both her bachelor's and master's degrees at the same time, and from Fordham law school. She is practicing law in New York City.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

From *The Nation*

THE place of the Negro in the far-reaching program of the TVA should be defined as soon as possible. Negroes themselves believe they are being slighted both in the immediate working program and in plans for the future. "The real complaint," write Charles H. Houston and John P. Davis in THE CRISIS, "lies in the failure of the TVA to incorporate the Negro as an integral part in its whole economic and social rehabilitation program. The general attitude of the TVA toward the Negro is that he is a harmless nuisance which has to be tolerated but which one cannot afford to encourage." Specifically, the Negroes note that they are excluded from the model town of Norris, and that employment of Negroes on the TVA projects in general is confined to low-pay levels. As matters now stand, the accusation of unfairness is hard to refute. Norris, being in the hill district where Negroes are not numerous, was conceived as a white project. Negroes later were employed in small numbers and then excluded from the model town and its remarkable educational and social privileges. At Wheeler Dam, in a district where Negroes are much more numerous, more than 20 per cent of the workers are Negroes, but no social or educational planning has been done for employees of either race. We must expect that the TVA, when it announces its program here, will evince an interest in the Negro and not take the easy course of acquiescing in the traditional prejudice of the South. It is not enough simply to employ Negroes on TVA projects on a population basis, which is being done, nor will the rights of Negroes at Wheeler Dam be upheld by giving them educational and social advantages. The TVA is long-term planning of the first importance and is known as the most enlightened undertaking of the New Deal. It cannot keep this reputation unless it builds a community in which Negroes, so far as the state can determine it, have full economic and social equality.

Information has come to the Carolina *Times* that Chief Justice W. P. Stacy of the North Carolina Supreme Court will receive the next appointment to the United States Supreme Court. We do not know just how authentic the information brought to us is, but if it is true then may God have mercy on the highest tribunal of the nation. . . .—Carolina *Times*.

Negro members of the American Legion, which convenes in Miami this week, should impress upon their delegates the necessity of getting a resolution adopted dealing with the position of colored people in regard to national defense. . . .

Negro delegates will, we hope, seek to get the convention to go on record against the discriminatory treatment of the four regular colored regiments and the barring of Negroes from the artillery corps and the special services. . . .—Pittsburgh *Courier*.

James Weldon Johnson, poet and professor of creative literature at Fisk University, has been engaged to give a series of ten lectures this winter at New York University in a course covering racial contributions to American Culture.

In a country dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal it ought to be redundant to add another word to this. Yet such is the continuing backwardness in America and even New York, that never before has any Negro served as a lecturer in any university in the city. The honor accorded this great Negro by New York University therefore becomes unique news.—New York *World-Telegram*.

When the tax collector goes around, he does not ask whether one is colored or white.

When City Council fixes the tax rate, it does not fix one rate for white and a lower rate for colored property owners.

When the School Board agrees upon the amount of taxes to be paid, it does not inquire concerning the racial identity of those who pay the tax.

When the sheriff puts homes on the auction block for unpaid taxes, he does not care whether the owner is white or colored.

Up to this point there is absolute equality — black and white are treated alike. The tax rate is identical.

But when colored citizens attempt to enjoy equality in the swimming pools for which they have paid equal taxes, they find a difference.

Since the dominant group refuses to permit colored citizens from enjoying the recreational centers for which their money pays, is it not robbery?—Philadelphia *Tribune*.

The Florida lynching is an outright defiance of all law. It was an invitation affair and it is surprising that formal dress was not required of the guests in order to attend this dance of demons. And still we are expected to sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and wax eloquent over a phony "New Deal."—Richmond *Planet*.

A wonderful bunch, our tribe of white politicians. When a campaign is on, the vilest of vituperative epithets, varied by slander and calumnies are used against each other. The battle over, they are chummy again, wining, dining, kissing each other as well as their sweethearts.

The colored citizen in politics is radically different. When you call him anything but "a child of God" you have made an enemy for life.—Cincinnati *Union*.

As we have stated in these columns before, especially following the capture-killing of John Dillinger who was classed as "Public Enemy No. 1," while there was no federal charge against Dillinger, yet the United States government found some excuse to enter the case for the sole purpose of helping to stamp out crime of that sort. . . .

Therefore, we are here and now calling upon the President of the United States and the Attorney-General to enter this case and bring the lynchers to justice. . . .—St Louis *Argus*.

The Associated Press rendered a splendid service to the nation this week by publishing in detail the hellish movements of a Florida mob who murdered a human being while the governor of the state stood on the sidelines permitting no arm of government to stay the bloody orgy of savagery. . . .

Serious minded white people ought to realize that when in any community five thousand semi-savages gather for a Roman holiday, in the carving, gutting and sex mutilation of a helpless Negro, even though the Negro may be a moral degenerate, that these five thousand future fathers and mothers of the white race are, at the end of their cannibalistic butchery, more craven degenerates than their ebony-hued victim. . . .—*Black Dispatch*.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

When a Kidnaping Is not a Kidnaping

The debaters on the question of how many angels could stand on the head of a pin were as little children in the game of hair-splitting compared to the United States Department of Justice. This arm of the government has been annoyed this past month with demands from all over our fair land that it take action under the Lindbergh interstate kidnaping law to run down and punish the kidnapers and lynchers of Claude Neal. Neal, as every reader of a newspaper knows, was taken from a jail in Brewton, Ala., early on the morning of October 26 by a mob of Florida citizens and carried over the state line to a clump of woods near Greenwood and Marianna, Fla., tortured for twelve hours, and finally lynched about ten p. m., October 26.

As far as the national office of the N.A.A.C.P. could see, this action came clearly within the Lindbergh law. The law as originally enacted, provided for action only in cases of kidnaping for ransom. But in May, 1934, it was amended to read for "ransom o · reward or otherwise." The N.A.A.C.P. felt reasonably certain the phrase "or otherwise" could be interpreted to cover kidnaping for killing. Just to make doubly sure, however, the office wrote Senators Royal S. Copeland of New York, Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, and Lewis Murphy of Iowa, authors of the amendment, and asked them what it meant. They all replied that they intended it to give the government power to act in *any* interstate kidnaping.

But, while this is clear to everyone outside the Department of Justice, it is far from clear to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings and his staff of Dillinger-detectors and Floyd-followers. Mr. Cummings has declared he is not interested in lynching. His aides have gone so far as to put forward their estimate of what the intent of congress was in passing the amendment. It seems they believe "or otherwise" means "the equivalent of ransom or reward," and not lynching. The Justice agents are determined to stay on the gold basis in this kidnaping business and not be led off onto any phony blood basis.

Growing Sentiment for Federal Anti-lynch Law

The inactivity of the federal government in the Neal case and the horror of the lynching itself has stirred a new wave of sentiment for the enactment of a federal anti-lynching law. The Costigan-Wagner bill will be re-introduced in the senate in the first days of the new congress in January. Representative Thomas Ford of California is expected to re-introduce his bill in the house. The association and the other organizations co-operating in pushing this legislation already are mobilizing their forces behind it. There is some evidence that strong support for some kind of federal law will come from the South. Last year, although the Costigan-Wagner bill received (and is still receiving) outspoken endorsement from many influential southern individuals and organizations, the really most powerful white southern organizations withheld actual endorsement, hoping against hope that the states would act. The outrageous kidnaping and torturing of Claude Neal has spurred these groups to the sharpest utterances they have made in years and there is a possibility that they will now support some form of federal action.

Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. have kept the question of a federal law squarely before the office-seekers and office-holders and have reminded the White House of the necessity of this legislation after each lynching in 1934. The January issue of THE CRISIS (out December 21) will contain anti-lynching opinion from some of the most eminent writers in America, together with cartoons, poems and factual material, valuable for anyone wishing to be informed about lynching.

Marline Joyce Williams
Baby Contest Winner
El Paso, Tex., Branch

Buy N.A.A.C.P. Seals

The annual sale of N.A.A.C.P. Christmas seals will begin on Thanksgiving and all members and friends of the association are called to purchase them and thus assist the general fund. This year the seals have been designed by Richmond Barthé, young artist-sculptor, and are done in the traditional Christmas colors of red and green. They are suitable for use on gifts, packages, letters and greeting cards and sell for one cent each. They are bound in books of 200 for $2, but may be ordered in any quantity, large or small. More than six years ago the idea of raising money for the N.A.A.C.P. through the sale of Christmas seals was originated and suggested to the national office by Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison of Gary, West Virginia and Mrs. Garrison has aided the sale each year, watching her idea bring in much-needed revenue at the end of the year to aid in balancing the association's budget.

Fights Hospital Bar

The Jamaica, N. Y., branch has undertaken a major task in asking for the appointment of Negro doctors to the staff of the new Queens General hospital soon to be opened in New York City. The hospital authorities claim they are not discriminating and that no appointments have been made definitely as yet. The Jamaica branch committee, however, headed by Dr. C. M. Reid, former branch president, declares the applications of Negro physicians have received no consideration. The branch is continuing its fight and is being aided by the national office.

Mrs. Lampkin in Jersey

Under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin the Brooklyn, N. Y., branch has just concluded a successful membership campaign, a report of which will be in the next issue of THE CRISIS. At the time of going to press, Mrs. Lampkin is starting a campaign in Newark, N. J.

Buy N.A.A.C.P. Christmas Seals

Branch Notes

The **Milwaukee, Wis.** branch, under the leadership of President E. LeRoy Dakin, is to hold an indoor picnic celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Association on November 30 and December 1. On November 4, the branch was addressed by Dr. James Myers of the Federal Council of Churches on the topic of discrimination against Negro workers by labor unions and the N.R.A. The Urban League chorus furnished music. The branch is planning shortly to launch a contest for the purpose of raising money.

The regular meeting of the **Chester, Pa.** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was held at St. Daniel's Church. The following recommendations coming from the executive committee were accepted: 1. Regular monthly meeting be changed from first Wednesday to first Tuesday of each month. 2. Regular meeting place be at Wilson's Day Nursery, Second and Reaney Streets. 3. Plans for monthly activities: October, resumé of achievements of the Association for past year; November, membership campaign; December, religion; January, inter-racial relations; February, Negro education; March, industry; April, health; May, music; June, reception to Chester graduates. On the program which followed, Mrs. Bennett outlined the achievements of the local branch and Rev. Moore gave an address on achievements of the Association.

The **Duluth, Minn.** branch is going over the top in leaps and bounds as far as memberships are concerned. The membership is seventy-five per cent white. The subscribers to THE CRISIS are interested in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. according to opinions expressed to Henry Williams. The embarrassing feature about our meeting is that our members fail to come to any of its functions on time. The attitude makes the program committee hesitate to invite prominent speakers. The branch is making preparation for the membership drive and the annual banquet.

The **Monrovia, Calif.** branch met Sunday afternoon, October 28, 1934, to sign application for a charter, adopt the constitution and by-laws and elect officers. Those elected were: Wm. W. Robinson, president; Mrs. Blossie Adams, vice-president; Mrs. Olivia M. Cobb, secretary and F. O. Richardson, treasurer. The branch's first official act was to send a telegram to President Roosevelt asking him to use his influence to get Congress to pass the anti-lynching bill. Fifty-nine persons signed the application for the charter. A mass meeting was held Sunday afternoon, October 28, on the school situation. Dr. C. H. Hudson, president of the Los Angeles branch was the principal speaker.

Effort is being made under the leadership of William Sublett to reorganize the **Houston, Tex.** branch of the Association which has been dormant for some time.

The **East St. Louis, Ill.** branch is fighting the effort of Louisiana to extradite Floyd Williams and J. Cockrell who escaped from a prison farm at Mends, La. Other organizations are assisting the branch and Attorney Orr is handling the case.

Congressman William J. Granfield was a speaker at a mass meeting of the **Springfield, Mass.** branch in October.

Because of popular request, the **Terre Haute, Ind.** branch repeated on November 3, its benefit stage performance of "Brown Skin Revue".

At a recent monthly meeting, the **Salt Lake City, Utah** branch heard a debate on the question "Resolved that the New Deal is a National Benefit". The Monroe Flemmings quartette rendered music.

Seventy new members were reported at the end of a campaign October 12 by the **Davenport, Ia.** branch. Newton Taggart was the captain of the drive. At the closing meeting, Russell Smith led an open forum on the aims and the accomplishments of the N.A.A.C.P. and a chorus of fifty voices provided music.

At the second annual meeting of the Junior division of the **Morristown, N. J.** branch, the following officers were elected: Vernon Daniels, president; Evelyn Timmons, vice-president; Estelle Taylor, corresponding secretary; Alice Satchelle, recording secretary; Blanche Hamlin, treasurer; George Bullock, sergeant-at-arms. New members enrolled included Thelma

This is the winning team in the recent membership campaign of the N.A.A.C.P. held in Norfolk, Va., under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, regional field secretary of the association:

Front row, left to right: Mrs. F. L. Chesson (captain), Miss Bell J. Sutton, Mrs. Divetta Brown, Miss Mabel Hooper; back row: Mrs. J. C. Riddick, Mrs. Carrie Turner, Mrs. Minetta Miller, Miss Juanita West, Mrs. Louise Madison, Miss Bessie Gordon, Jerry O. Gillam.

BUY

N. A. A. C. P.

Christmas Seals

Designed by the young Negro artist-sculptor, Richmond Barthé.

•

Sold each year to help carry on the fight against prejudice, inequality and injustice.

•

Put them on your holiday packages, gifts, greeting cards, letters.

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Abrams, Lois Alexander, Henrietta Alexander, Mabel Bullock, George Bullock, Beatrice Carter, Bayliss Carter, George Dorsey, Raymond Bayliss, Sally Epps, Hattie Edmonds, Helen Severson, Berbaid Gregory, Lela Gibbons, Mabel Howell, Elizabeth Howell, Elizabeth Hauze, Eunice Higginbotham, Gaston Hunt, Charles Hunt, Barbara Jones, Evelyn Lyle, Eunice Lewis, Laura Mills, Kate Martin, Vennia Martin, Oscar Nelson, Tezziel Spells, Edward Spencer, Edith Timbrook, Evelyn Watson, Gertrude Watson, Robert Washington, Eileen Winbush, Walter Williams and Julia Gramby. A Hallowe'en party was held October 26.

The **New Orleans, La.** branch has secured the indorsement of the Association's work by the Baptist Ministers' Union and the Ministers' Union of the M.E. Church of that city. James E. Gayle is president. The branch was one of several organizations which held a joint meeting October 24 in the interest of more adequate school facilities for colored children in New Orleans.

The **San Diego, Calif.** branch joined with other civic organizations in mourning the death of Judge Alfred Haines, for many years a friend and adviser of the branch and a regularly paid-up member of the Association.

James Egert Allen, president of the **New York, N. Y.** branch spoke over station WNYC October 20 on "Problems Confronting the Negro in the City of New York". William Pickens, Jr., of the Legal Redress Committee of the **Brooklyn, N. Y.** branch, spoke over the same station October 27.

The **Jamaica, N. Y.** branch is one of the leaders among the organizations which are trying to secure appointments for colored physicians in the new Queens general hospital soon to be opened in the Borough of Queens by the city of New York. Commissioner S. S. Goldwater has stated that he is not considering racial identity of applicants, but the branch has noted that colored applicants have been shunted back and forth from the Commissioner's office to a nominating committee's office and it charges that the department of hospitals is giving the colored applicants no consideration.

Colored students at San Francisco State Teachers College gave a benefit tea and program for the **San Francisco, Calif.** branch Sunday, October 14. Wesley Johnson was chairman of the affair. The students are: Edna May Van Woods, Georgetta Yebby, Muriel Anderson, Frances Miller, Beulah Reason, Loet Allen, Mrs. Elsie Rumford, Ozell Lewis, Pauline Gopaul, Edna Lancaster, Bernie Anderson, Jacqueline Martin, Mrs. Helen Johnson, Melvin Johnson, Ruth Acty, Ger Vaise Jones, James Robinson, Vera Griffen, Kenneth Levy, Carolyn Carrington and Wesley Johnson.

Consistent with its announced program for 1934 the **Cincinnati, O.** branch circularized all candidates for County offices, Congressional and State candidates as to their attitude on questions of major interest to Negro voters. The answers were summarized and compiled in a nine-page pamphlet which has been circularized among voters. The branch has taken an active part in the campaign in opposing the re-election of Senator Simeon Fess on the basis of his pro-Parker vote in 1930. Recently the branch through attorneys T. M. Berry, president of the local branch and Joseph Fulton, filed injunction proceedings against a rural school board to restrain them from refusing admittance of three colored children who had been sent home. A persistent fight has been waged against discrimination under civil service and mandamus proceedings are about to be filed because of certain flagrant violations in a recent appointment of district physician. A distinctive honor has been granted Dr. Braxton F. Cann, vice-president of the branch, in being appointed to the Medical Clinic of the Cincinnati General hospital. He serves both white and colored patients. This is a partial success of the persistent fight of the branch and the local medical association for admission of colored physicians to practice in the Municipal hospital.

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

The **Port Huron, Mich.** branch is continuing the fight against the recent order of the school board withdrawing colored children from the Lincoln school and concentrating all of them in the Cleveland school. It is said that certain colored people went to the school board and persuaded it to concentrate the colored children in one district. Robert M. Evans is president.

The **Media, Pa.** branch circulated questionnaires to all candidates to ascertain their attitude on a civil rights law for Pennsylvania and a federal anti-lynching law, as well as upon employment opportunities for colored people on state and other projects.

A branch quarterly has been launched by the **Cleveland, O.** branch. It contains news of all branch activities including those of the Women's Auxiliary and the Junior division, as well as an outline of the branch program. Editors of the quarterly: David Pierce, Harold Nickson, L. Pearl Mitchell and Charles W. White. Miss Mitchell is president of the branch, Lawrence Schumake secretary and Edward Johnson treasurer.

A complete program for the year has been outlined by the **District of Columbia** branch under the presidency of Mrs. Robert McGuire. The fourth Sunday in November has been designated as N.A.A.C.P. Appreciation Sunday when pastors in all churches are asked to present personally or allow to be presented, the merits of the Association. A series of semi-monthly meetings will be held at the evening services of those churches which will consent to the N.A.A.C.P. furnishing the program. Thanksgiving night the branch will sponsor an entertainment for fund-raising purposes and in co-operation with the New Negro Alliance and the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, will maintain a campaign to force national and state support of schools to open their schools to Negro students. Mrs. Esther Popel Shaw is writing a play on the spirit of the Association which the branch will present before various groups throughout the winter. The Women's Auxiliary, headed by Mrs. Milton A. Francis, has pledged that each of its 100 members will secure one new member a month. In addition to these activities, the branch has scheduled four major mass meetings with nationally known speakers to be held during the winter. A. S. Pinkett is secretary.

Gets Degree

Miss Lucy Mae Turner, a teacher in the schools of East St. Louis, Ill., was awarded a bachelor of science degree by Ohio State university at the close of the summer quarter.

My Country, 'Tis of Thee Sweet Land of Liberty—

This is a picture of what happens in America—*and no other place on earth!* Here is the U. S. rope and faggot record to date:

Lynchings since January 1:

17

●

Lynchings during same period last year:

22

●

Total lynchings since 1882:

5,068

●

(Figures as of November 15)

You can help stamp out lynch law by joining the forces who are campaigning for the passage of a federal anti-lynching law by the next congress. Write the N.A.A.C.P. for information: 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Wide Opportunities for Negro Lawyers

Only one Negro lawyer for every 9,667 of the Negro population! This is the answer to the cry of Negro youth that there are few opportunities open to him in professional fields today, according to a study just completed at the School of Law of Howard University, Washington, D. C. The statistics which have been prepared show that while the Negro forms 10 per cent of the population of the United States, he furnishes only .007 per cent of the lawyers. There are 1,230 Negro lawyers and 159,375 white lawyers. This means one Negro lawyer for every 9,667 Negroes, while there is a white lawyer for each 695 of the white population.

The figures present such glaring inequalities as the following: In Georgia, with over one million Negroes in its population, there are 14 Negro lawyers and 2,799 white lawyers. This means that there is one Negro to serve 76,509 of his race, as compared with one white lawyer for every 655 of the white population. Or, there is one Negro lawyer for every 4,233 square miles in Georgia, and one white for every 21.1 square miles.

In Mississippi, with slightly over a million Negroes, and where they outnumber the white population by nine thousand, there are 6 Negro lawyers to 1,243 white lawyers. One lawyer to every 168,286 Negroes, and to each 7,810 square miles, as contrasted with one for every 804 whites and to each 38.8 square miles.

In Alabama, with only 4 Negro lawyers and 1,594 white members of the profession, the School of Law finds a Negro lawyer to every 236,208 of the Negro population and to every 12,999 square miles, while there is a white lawyer for every 1,067 of the Alabama white population and for every 32.6 square miles of the state's area. In the entire South, where approximately five-sixths (8,407,089) of the Negro population is concentrated, there is only one-sixth (201) of the Negro lawyers located. This allows only one lawyer to each 41,826 of the Negro population to represent them in the courts.

When consideration is given to the fact that, in these Southern states, each Negro lawyer must serve such a large number of persons, scattered over an average area of 4,753 square miles per lawyer, while his white brother at the bar has an average clientele of 773 concentrated within an average area of about 20 square miles, it is not difficult to appreciate the failure of the Negro to obtain his full legal remedies and rights.

Wm. T. Andrews Wins

Mr. Andrews, former special legal assistant in the national office of the N.A.A.C.P., was elected November 6 on the Democratic ticket as a member of the New York state assembly from the twenty-first district.

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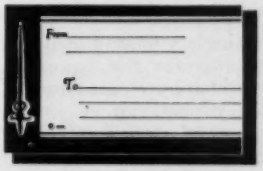
The Nominating Committee for Members of the Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P. reports the following nominees for terms expiring December 31, 1937:

Miss Jane Addams, Chicago
Rev. Hutchens C. Bishop, New York
Hon. Arthur Capper, Topeka
Prof. Manley O. Hudson, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. William Lloyd Imes, New York
James Marshall, New York
Miss Mary White Ovington, New York
Charles Edward Russell, Washington
Hon. Charles E. Toney, New York
William Allen White, Emporia, Kans.
Miss Frances Williams, New York
Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, *Chairman.*
CHARLES H. STUDIN
ARTHUR B. SPINGARN

The new nominees this year are Prof. Manley O. Hudson of the Harvard law school, authority on international relations and international law; the Rev. William Lloyd Imes New York, pastor of the Saint James Presbyterian church and president of the Alumni Association of Union Theological Seminary; Judge Charles E. Toney, of the municipal court of New York City; and Miss Frances Williams, laboratory division, National Young Women's Christian Association, New York.

In addition to the above nominations, the constitution provides: "independent nominations may be made upon request in writing by at least fifteen (15) members of the Association by filing the same with the secretary not later than thirty (30) days before the annual meeting." The date of the annual meeting will be January 7, 1935 and therefore any independent nominations must be submitted in writing to the secretary, signed by at least fifteen (15) members of the Association on or before December 7, 1934.



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BOOK REVIEWS

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE AMERICAN SOCIAL ORDER by Horace Mann Bond . . . Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1934. 501, pp. $2.75.

Mr. Bond's book is a grave, yet justifiable indictment of the treatment, by the whole nation in general and the "Old South" in particular, of America's "forgotten child"—the Negro child of school age. This book, which more nearly covers the entire field of Negro education than any other on the market, is far more than an exposition; it is a scholarly prepared document of the case of the Negro child in the American social order in the past and at present. It presents in language, pregnant with trenchant accusations, the case of a portion of America's social order, a portion which has been the helpless victim of a bold and most flagrant group of "chiselers" of human capabilities and potentialities.

In this single volume the author commendably analyzes the various specific problems which have cumulatively determined the educational environment of the Negro child, and as a result of his evaluation of such has been able to project himself into the future and to interpret the definite trends which have become evidenced. As worthy as it is to have successfully collected facts from official documents and elsewhere concerning Negro education since the beginning of the Civil War, Mr. Bond's chief contribution exists in his ability to interpret the most significant problems of Negro education and of the American social order, and to lucidly present his viewpoints of the demands for integration rather than segregation.

The author loses no time in facing the most crucial question: "Shall the school in which Negro children are enrolled have objectives, curricula, and methods which are distinct from those obtaining in schools enrolling American white children?" He characterizes the race as "living in a psychical, often a physical ghetto . . . a group most of the members of which belong to the lower economic classes, and which yet is separated from other persons on the same level of life by barriers of custom and law. A fine shade of popular discrimination conceives of them, not as Americans, but as American Negroes." The issue then is to so direct social agencies that the Negro will recognize himself, and become recognized, as an American. The history of education of Negroes in the South, from 1860 to the present reveals many obstacles which have impeded any such widespread recognition. During the Reconstruction period neither the northern missionaries, the whites of the South, nor the Negroes realized the part that education would have to play in the new social order. In fact while the southern whites were clashing in regard to the social future of the Negro in the South, a wholly unheralded new social order evolved. Attendant therewith were inequalities in every phase of Negro education as provided in separate school systems.

With the advent of tax-supported schools "legislators either made no provision for the education of Negroes or placed the responsibility for support upon taxes levied upon Negroes and not upon general tax funds." Due largely to the results of political chicanery in some instances and subsidies from the Freedmen's Bureau and benevolent societies in others, provisions for public education for Negroes and whites in separate systems were in general quantitatively equal at the end of the period of legal reconstruction. Since then a gap has been widening, with the schools for whites being superior in such considerations as number of schools, total enrollment, teachers and salaries, as measured in terms of progressive educational standards.

In the last section, entitled "Current Problems" the author fascinates the reader with his interpretations. The facts presented, many of which are well known to a student of racial problems, are illuminating in their new setting. Furthermore, in spite of some highly conjectural statements, the value of the book is in no way lessened because of the author's artful exercise of that literary prerogative. For example: this reader will grant that a discussion of the merits or demerits of a separate school system for Negroes in the North *only too frequently* resolves itself into a purely academic argument, but cannot grant that "no amount of 'protest' from Negroes will avail to prevent it, in the long run, if the majority wishes to have segregation." The "majority" referred to is the whites in the North, and the facts implied by the statement are largely hypothetical. There is power possessed by a minority in any democracy with universal suffrage. The *form* and *time* of the "protest" must be intelligently selected, but minority "protests" are frequently successful. However, the author emphatically evidences his realization of fallacies of any principle supporting segregation in a permanent form in the North or South. Upon an anti-separate school principle exists the salvation of our public education, not only that incident to the Negro, but also that incident to the American social order.

Horace M. Bond adequately reveals the status of "America's tenth child," (the Negro school pupil). Enlightened America can no longer pretend ignorance to the fact that the forgotten child is the victim of ruthless "chiselers."

ELLIS O. KNOX
Howard University

NEGRO AMERICANS, WHAT NOW? by James Weldon Johnson. . . . Viking Press, N. Y. 103 pp. $1.25

In this brief volume Mr. Johnson has sketched some of the dilemmas of colored Americans in 1934 and made suggestions for a way out of their ills. He

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eliminates the possibilities of exodus, physical force, and a revolutionary overthrow of the government as a means of solving the problem. Group isolation—segregation—is similarly discarded and the proposition outlined that integration of the race into the life of the nation is the proper objective.

In this struggle for integration the author urges use of the numerical strength of the race, the Negro press, the various organizations, and the Negro church. On this latter topic a fair estimate of the history and power of the church is made, with some legitimate criticism of its methods, objectives and pulpit personnel. It is still accurate to say, as Mr. Johnson does, that the church is the most powerful influence in Negro life. There are heartening evidences that it is aware that changes must be made if it is to become the great force it should be in shaping the current of racial life.

The suggestion of the organization of a "super-power" through correlation of the large groups working on the race problem is an intriguing one. It may yet be attempted, although the spectacle of the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, the Commission on Interracial Coopera-

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tion and the Race Relations Committee of the Federal Council of Churches correlating their efforts in more than a superficial manner is difficult to imagine.

In dealing with the techniques of education, politics, labor and business, the author delivers a well-directed blow at the idea of building up *Negro* business *for Negroes,* declaring that Negroes, like others, should conduct businesses for all.

For this reviewer one of the most significant sections of this volume is a brief one near the end on the all-important subject of interracial contacts. It cannot be said too frequently—indeed, it ought to be apparent to even a casual observer—that the progress of Negro Americans is dependent upon the opinion of white Americans. The shaping of this opinion is a task to which Negroes should devote themselves with increasing vigor, intelligence, tact and persistence. Difficult and exasperating attitudes of whites, and especially their indifference or ignorance must be met with as much objectivity as can be collected.

To what end? To the end that Negroes live in comfort, in spiritual and material freedom in their country—the country, lest it be forgotten, which they helped to discover (aboard the *Nina*) and which they have helped to build, enrich and defend.

Mr. Johnson's book, in easy almost conversational language is sure not to please our radicals because of its lack of a "slashing attack" on anything and everything. The conservatives, if they read it carefully, may find cause for uneasiness underneath its cool surface. It ought to be read widely, for here, in a scant hundred pages, are sketched the perplexities in every Negro's mind in this era of change.

W. O. R.

BABOUK, by Guy Endore, 297 pp. . . . Vanguard Press, New York, $2.00.

As I recall, "Babouk" was received rather indifferently by the professional critics when it first appeared. As a matter of fact, it was overlooked almost completely by the Negro press. Here is a book that should be in the bookcase of every Negro family. Nothing quite like it has been written in years and years, indeed, it is doubtful if anything precisely like it has ever been written about the well-known color line.

Devastating is the only word which describes adequately the irony running from its first page to the last. Speaking through Babouk, and seeing through the slave's eyes, the author punctures all the cruelty, greed, pomp, and vainglory of whites with deadly rapier thrusts. Hardly a page but what contains some sly explosion of a pet white-superiority theory.

Guy Endore sets forth that he is writing an eighteenth century tale, beginning it with the capture of Babouk in Africa, and ending with a slave revolt in Saint-Domingue, but with a few changes it could be laid in Mississippi in the twentieth century. There is scarcely a topic which Negroes have debated in this whole race problem which the author does not permit Babouk to touch. Take the theory of difference between the races and the necessity of white people constantly harping upon it:

> "Through centuries they had maintained their feelings of superiority over the Negro race only by constant proof of it through whipping and torture. The fellows did look so damnably like human beings that one must keep perpetually insisting on those minute differences of black skin and heavy lips and wide nostrils and kinky hair, as must the white masters, for that matter, be continuously insisting on the bad grammar and unwashed hands of their peasants and workers. In fact, one must call upon the Church, upon God, upon nature, upon science for constant reassurance, and even then only by stepping on the Negro a dozen times a day can one be really positive."

A jab at the idea Negroes are "happy" in their servitude; a poke at a white man's religion; delicious irony on the dilemma of the French liberals over whether "liberty, equality and fraternity" applied to blacks; frank comment around the slave fires on the differences between white and black lovers; concubinage and much more. You will search far for better than this:

> "And how was a black man or woman to be so good that God would take him to heaven?
>
> "He must love his fellow men, black or white.
>
> "He must obey his superiors.
>
> "He must work honestly.
>
> "He must not be vindictive.
>
> "He must not steal from the garden or the chicken flock or the orchard of his master.
>
> "He must learn to suffer, and turn the other cheek, for that was the example that Christ showed. Christ who died on the Cross to redeem all mankind, white and black alike."

"Babouk" should be in your library. It may discourage you a bit to see how the old tricks have worked for 200 years; but then it may help you to see through the ruses.

—R. W.

***Loose Leaves from A Busy Life*, by Morris Hillquit. Macmillan, New York. . . . $2.50.**

MORRIS HILLQUIT once polled 145,332 votes as a candidate for the mayoralty of the city of New York. His was the most effective challenge to the rule of the bankers and gunmen that has ever been made in this whirlpool of corruption. In 1917 the Socialists spent $50,000 against $1,500,000 invested by the Fusion (Republican) ticket. In addition to the money, there was the savage war spirit which made the championship of Socialism an unpopular, and not many weeks later, *a dangerous calling.*

Hillquit was an immigrant Jew, from Russia. He moved into the old Lower East Side into the squalor and filth and overcrowding that America kept behind the Statute of Liberty for her new sons and daughters lately come in quest of freedom. Hillquit lived and worked among the Jewish immigrants, and much of what the Jews have become in America is due directly to the intelligent organization of immigrant Jews in the old East Side tenements.

Hillquit seems to have met few colored people. He mentions none in his book. As the spokesman for a new order, he should have come in closer contact with America's submerged tenth. Such contacts as he had seem not to have impressed themselves upon his mind. There are no Negroes in the leaves from a busy life. But what Hillquit did with the Jewish Trade Unions is the thing that ought to commend the first few chapters of his book to colored thinkers. The despised Jewish baker and needle worker became the bulwark of the early labor movement. There was first a Jewish union. It became the most progressive of all labor groups, and today is the fairest towards Negroes.

Morris Hillquit's Socialism is no longer unpalatable to increasing numbers. Indeer there are those who say that the New Deal has brought some of them abopt. But Hillquit the man, as an organizer and propagandist of the highest order ought to be studied by social workers and reformers, as well as by radicals and revolutionaries.

GEORGE W. STREATOR

Devotion

By THEODORE ANTHONY SANFORD

When the profound, unuttered agony of twilight
Lies gnawing at the ebon breast of Night,
I shall bow down in dark, impassioned meditation
And think of Thee!

Tho' blooded moon rise redly o'er the fountain,
Or no moon rise to bare its liquid pain,
The surging water seeks the straying moonbeam;
Seeks and sighs—and sighing seeks again.

So surging, seeking, sighing, shall my thoughts
Burst in bitter anguish from the caves of mind,
Their constant vanity the tenderest of sorrows,
In foaming cascade to Thy memory . . .

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LETTERS *from* READERS

Hitler and Negroes on the Rhine

To the Editor of The Crisis:—
Please permit me space in your journal to appeal to Negroes of America and the friends of the colored people in that country on behalf of their brothers from the former German African colony of Cameroons, who are now victims of Hitlerism in Germany. Although everybody knows of the racial persecution against the Jewish people in Germany, unfortunately it is not so well known that Negroes are also subjected to racial terrorism under the Third Reich. The economical and social conditions of these colored people are terrible. Formerly they were permitted to work as theatrical artists and musicians, but today they are deprived of all forms of employment. Those who are married to German women are forced to break up their homes. Neither are they allowed to be on the streets after certain hours. Under such conditions the Negroes are gradually degenerating.

Mr. Joseph Bilé, the secretary of the League for the Defence of the Negro Race (German Section), has succeeded in escaping from the Hitler terror and has solicited the aid of the International League Against Antisemitism. We are therefore appealing to the members of the Negro race in America to assist Mr. Bilé and the other Negroes still in Germany. Towards this end Mr. Bilé proposes to go to Africa as quickly as possible, in order to present the situation before the natives of the Cameroons, which is now under French mandate, so that they can raise public subscriptions to rescue those still stranded in Germany. But in order to carry out this mission, the sum of $300 is urgently required to pay the passage and incidental expenses of Mr. Bilé from France to Duala, the port of Cameroons.

We feel certain that the American Negroes, especially those engaged in Missionary work in Africa and activities for advancement of their race, will rally to the appeal of their African brothers in the same spirit of racial solidarity which American Jews have shown to the German refugees.

All contributions, no matter how small, should be sent to the secretary of the International League Against Antisemitism, 35 Rue des Frances Bourgeois 35, Paris III, France.

A full statement of account will be sent to the Negro press as soon as possible after Mr. Bilé departs for Africa; his present address is: 29 Avenue des Sobelins 29, Paris XIII, France.

Thanking you on behalf of the Negro victims of Hitlerism,

Bernard Lecache, *President*
International League Against Antisemitism
Paris, France

Dear Sir: Thanks very much for the September Crisis. I have been going through it with the greatest pleasure. In particular, I have been greatly struck by Mr. Schuyler's argument against the boycott. It seems to me that he is on the soundest of ground.

H. L. Mencken

Baltimore, Md.

Which College?

To the Editor of The Crisis:—
Best wishes to The Crisis under its new management! The generous presentation of both sides of a question is especially complimentary to your readers. Thank you.

The prize essay "Which College" immediately following Langston Hughes' article "Cowards from the Colleges" should give youth ample material for thought. To my mind Negro students in so called "white" colleges have done more toward laying the foundation for the adjustment of race relations than any other group of people I know. Up until a few years ago nearly every discussion of race relations ended with this condescending remark, "Northerners just don't understand. Down South we know the Negro. You got to keep him in his place. Then you don't have no trouble." Nowadays most of the discussions I have heard end something like this: "But I know Negroes. I was in school with So-and-So and So-and-So. They were perfect gentlemen. There is no reason why they should be denied any privilege." Which way do you prefer us to end our discussions?

Possibly a good "Who's Who" would give several names of Negro graduates of mixed colleges who are employed other than as "red caps," but even suppose the said Negro does nothing of note after leaving college my contention is that by his fine courage in presenting himself as a specimen of his race for other students to learn to know and respect he has done more for his country than most people do in a lifetime. Undoubtedly he is often hurt. Front line soldiers are. But he is winning the battle, God bless him! And God pity America if this contact should cease!

Then again it all depends on where we are going. If we are settling down for a hundred years racial war we certainly must have Negro leaders for Negroes. If on the other hand we are aiming toward a national life having some degree of civilization we need leaders of people. This will include in relatively large proportion Negroes who are able to lead white groups and who have faith enough in humanity to do it.

Mabel E. Simpson

Ingomar, Montana

More About Liberia

To the Editor of The Crisis: It is rather unfortunate that such an impassioned defense of the Liberian politicians as that of Mr. Walter F. Walker, that country's New York Consul, should not have contained more facts. Fortunately there are others in possession of these facts, so the readers of The Crisis may as well have them for fear they may be swayed overly much by Mr. Walker's diatribe against Dr. F. W. M. Morais.

In the first place, Dr. Morais did not go to Geneva as the representative of the Grebo people alone, but was chosen by the People's Party of Liberia to do so. The People's Party, needless to say, represents more than a small group of natives. Dr. Morais was candidate for Vice-President on the People's Party ticket in the election "won" by Barclay in 1931.

After Dr. Morais returned from Geneva, he was arrested without warrant or indictment and with seven other men was sent to the military prison at Bellayella in the Gola jungles. No investigation was had or charge made against him. It was not until friendly chiefs hearing of his incarceration cabled news of his imprisonment to Geneva that the government charged him with treason. Put "on the spot" by the International Society for the Defense of Native Peoples, Liberia then released Morais (three of his fellow prisoners died of privation). Dr. Marais has not yet been tried although he has been imprisoned, not an unusual Liberian procedure. Lately the government has promised him immunity from arrest and prosecution if he will try to persuade Paramount Chief Juan Nimley of Sasstown, the Kru Coast, to give in to the government.

Anyone knowing the chronic im-

pecuniosity of Liberian lawyers will understand why Attorney N. H. Sie Brownell's "delusion was of short duration." He was given a fat job to halt his opposition to the regime and he promptly grew clamlike about government atrocities.

Now as to "the threadbare charges of ruthless brutality practiced upon the natives by an alleged exploiting government" which Mr. Walker labels "an old trick," let us again resort to the facts rather than blowsy rhetoric.

D. G. Rydings, British Vice-Counsel at Monrovia, made an official report on "the old trick" on April 15, 1932. He told of wholesale desertion of tribal villages to escape the soldiers of Col. T. Ellwood Davis, of slavery report notoriety, of the arrest of natives for "sedition": i. e., voicing displeasure over the slaughter and raping of their people, and of general organized vandalism.

"The plantation town of Wolokri in the Sasstown interior was attacked in the night when the inhabitants were asleep" the Rydings report says, "and totally unprepared. The soldiers crept into the banana plantations, which surround all native villages, and poured volleys into the huts. In the subsequent confusion and flight women and children were ruthlessly shot down and killed. One woman who had that day been delivered of twins was shot in her bed, and the infants perished in the flames when the village was fired by the troops. At this town three men, fourteen women and eight children met their death." More than 12,000 natives fled to the bush as the result of such raids. It was because of this that Dr. Morais went to Geneva to plead for succor for his people.

But after all this is the report of a white man. So let us consider the report of the same "war" made by President Barclay's own special delegation dispatched to the Kru Coast on October 8, 1931. Sarkoh Pleh of the Dio tribe testified "Col. Davis went to the interior and devastated nine towns in Tienpoh . . . Sarma Mehweh, the said captured woman, then said that 'although they (the soldiers) said they did not bring war, they had attacked them last night and caught all women including myself. Col. Davis then divided us all among the soldiers as their wives.'" Strangely enough the natives did not relish these friendly overtures of Col. Davis.

Here is part of the testimony of Gballi Sweh of Paytaye tribe: "A woman by the name of Wreh Wrogbay who was badly frightened ran and while running dropped her child and it died at once. Among the women of five they caught was one in state of pregnancy. All were ravished and this one was taken by a Sobbo man, named Mwanano Jru.

Then comes Wreh Jreypoh speaking for Tienpoh: "After collecting the whole taxes for the year, he (Dist. Commissioner John Brown) again returned during the rice season to demand more taxes. . . . They asked Chief Tappeh for the tax money, who said 'we are not yet ready.' They at once tied Chief Tappeh in ropes and then caught one woman with her babe on her back and locked her in an attic of a hut and smoked her. The smoke killed the baby. John Brown also shot two men down dead. . . . When Col. Davis was going to Chien from Palupoh he caught eleven persons he met in one of the towns on the road. He put them in an attic of one hut. A woman by the name of Tanneh was threatened and finally caught by them and chopped with a cutlass. The soldiers fired on one Wissoh, killing him instantly. . . . When the soldiers reached the next town, they killed three women and burned the town. In like manner they burned seven towns. . . . The total number of persons reported killed in the first eight towns were thirty. When they decided to move off to Nana Kru and leave the temporary barracks (in the first town), they set fire to the town and burned up the eleven men formerly caught and incarcerated in the attic. . . . This is the way District Commissioner John Brown and Col. T. Ellwood Davis fought and destroyed the nine towns of Tienpoh."

Several hundred people in all were killed by the forces of Col. T. Ellwood Davis and his merry men. Against this Dr. Morais protested and still protests to the world. The atrocities continue. Mr. Walker who has not been to Liberia in many years is evidently unaware of the valiant efforts of the Liberian government to "carry on."

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

New York, N. Y.

Thank You!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I have been reading with interest the last few editions of THE CRISIS and I would like to compliment you and your staff on your new style and method of publication.

WILLIAM A. REED, JR.,
Editor, Fisk Herald

Nashville, Tenn.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—May I congratulate you on the October issue of the magazine? I have been a reader of THE CRISIS since it was the "voice of the Negro in Atlanta, Georgia," and I have never been more impressed than I have with this last issue.

G. C. RICHARDSON

Rockford, Ill.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Mrs. Josephine Schuyler's article under the caption, "The Slaughter of the Innocents," is a very splendid article. It is well written and filled with information that is so vital. Mrs. Schuyler took unusually high ground and faced all the facts just as they are.

L. F. COLES

New York City

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—THE CRISIS is better than ever. I am still on the job urging the salesman to hustle. He advised me on last Saturday of increased sales.

DANIEL BUTTS

Staten Island, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Enclosed please find my check for one dollar and fifty cents ($1.50) to pay my subscription to THE CRISIS.

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